Sr. John Hayward Kt. Dr. of Lawe
FLY FROM EVEL DOE GOOD
Will. pas. fecit

Sr. John Hayward Kt. Dr. of Lawe
FLY FROM EVEL DOE GOOD
Will. pas. fecit

THE FIRST PART OF THE LIFE AND raigne of King *Henrie the IIII.*

Extending to the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne.

Written by I. H.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, and and are to be ſolde at his ſhop in Popes head Alley, neere to the Exchange. 1599.

Illuſtriſsimo & honoratiſsimo *Roberto Comiti Eſſexiæ & Ewe, Comiti* Mareſcallo Angliæ, Vicecomiti Herefordiæ *& Bourchier : Baroni Ferrariis de Chartley,* Domino Bourchier & Louen : Regiæ Maieſtati Hyppocomo : *Machinarum bellicarum præfecto : Academiæ Cantabrigienſis* Cancellario : Ordinis Georgiani Equiti aurato : *Screniſſimæ Domino Reginæ a ſanctioribus Conſiliis :* Domino meo plurimum obſeruando.

Ἱππῳ καὶ γενναιοτάτῳ : *optimo & Nobiliſſimo* (*inquit* Euripides) *ex qua ſententia tu primus ac ſolus fere occurrebas* (*illuſtriſsime comes*) *cuius nomen ſi Henrici noſtri fronti radiaret, ipſe & lætior & tutior in vulgus prodiret. Magnus ſiquidem es, & preſenti iudicio, & futuri temporis expectatione : in quo, veluti recuperaſſe nunc oculos, cæca prius fortuna videri poteſt ; Dum cumulare honoribus eum giſti, qui omnibus virtutibus eſt inſignitus. Hunc igitur ſi læta fronte excipere digneris, ſub nominis tui vmbra* (*tanquam ſub* Aiacis *clipio* Teucer *ille* Homericus) *tutiſsime latebit. Deus opt. max. celſitudinem tuam nobis, reique publicæ diu ſeruet incolumen : quo nos vz. tam fide quam armis potenti tua dextra defenſi, vltique, diutina cum ſecuritate tum gloria perfruamur.*

Honori tuo deditiſſimus.

I. Hayvvarde.

Faults eſcaped in the Printing

Page.	Line.	Fault.	Reade.
11	23	played	plyed
15	13	pleaſeth	pleaſe
16	20	preſent	preſents
19	22	ſport	ſort
19	24	tempored	tempered
37	10	weedleſſe	needeleſſe
41	18	cauſe	ſame
43	13	too	two
44	13	in reporting	to reporting
53	08	moued	enforced
55	04	this	his
55	05	chalenged	chalenging
57	27	elſe	or elſe
65	20	carried	carry
70	13	lenety	leuity
71	35	*Buſh*	*Buſhie*
75	05	Officers of ſo long	offers of ſo large
75	12	Caſtle Trim	Caſtle of Trim
75	32	of the one	by the one
77	32	at men	to men
79	25	iucreaſed	incenſed
86	13	*Thirminges*	*Thirninges*
86	15	Lophane	Lopham
88	32	confeſſed	confuſed
100	10	taking	raking
102	30	or violence	or conceale violence
107	35	is no more	it is no more
117	06	reſiſtance	aſsiſtance
127	27	Redding	Reading
130	24	he had	that he had
131	05	hardly	ſhortly
131	24	was not	he was not
131	27	bloud	bould
148	21	reteyned	he reteyned

A. P. *to the Reader.*

Mong all ſortes of humane writers, there is none that haue done more profit, or deſerued greater praiſe, then they who haue committed to faithfull recordes of Hiſtories, eyther the gouernment of mighty ſtates, or the liues and actes of famous men: for by deſcribing the order and paſſages of theſe two, and what euentes hath followed what counſailes they haue ſet foorth vnto vs, not onely precepts, but liuely patternes, both for priuate directions and for affayres of ſtate: whereby in ſhorte time young men may be inſtructed; and ould men more fullie furniſhed with experience then the longeſt age of man can affoorde. And therefore *Cicero* reporteth that *L. Lucullus*, when he went from Rome to make warre againſt *Mithridates*, was altogether vnskilfull in Militarie ſeruices: yet in the time of his Nauigation hee ſo exerciſed himſelfe what with conference, and what with reading of hiſtories, that when hee came into Aſia, by the iudgement and confeſſion of that great King, he was preferred before all the commaunders that were before him. Heerevpon when *Alexander Seuerus* did deliberate of anye weightie matter, hee would eſpeciallye take aduiſe of men

skilfull in hiſtories, and not without good cauſe: for if (as *Afranius* ſaith) experience hath begot Wiſedome, and Memory as a mother hath brought it foorth; who are to be better accompted then they whoſe memory is as it were a rich ſtorehouſe, of the experiences not of one age or Country, but of all times and of all nations. And therefore it is no great maruaile that *Zenobia*, who after the death of her husband *Odonatus* tooke vpon her the ſtate, not onely inſulted vpon the Romaines, but held the Arabians, the Sarizens, the Armenians, and other fierce and intractible people, in ſuch obedience, that although ſhe were both a woman and a Barbarian, yet they neuer ſtirred againſt her: for ſhe had perfectly red the Romaine hiſtorie in Greeke, and alſo had her ſelfe abridged the Alexandrian and all the Orientall hiſtories, whereby ſhee attained the higheſt pitch both of Wiſedome and authoritie: for examples are of greater force to ſtirre vnto vertue, then bare precepts, inſomuch as *Cicero* ſaid that nothing could be taught well without example. Therforce the Lacedemonians (as *Plutarch* writeth) did vſe vpon feſtiuall dayes to preſent vnto their Sons certaine drunken ſlaues whom they called εἵλωτας: that by view of the vice they might learne to auoide it, and *Hiſmenias* the Thebane, would ſhew to his Schollers muſitians of all ſortes good and bad, inſtructing them to followe the one and not the other. And this is that which the *Apologie* telleth of a certaine Countrie woman, who being hard fauoured, and fearing leaſt ſhee ſhould bring foorth children like her ſelfe, got many faire and beautifull Pyctures, which ſhee did dayly and ſtedfaſtly beholde: the meaning whereof is, that by ſetting before vs the actes and liues of excellent men, it is the readieſt way to faſhion our qualities according to the ſame.

Heerevpon *Cicero* doeth rightly call hiſtorie the witneſſe of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the meſſenger

meſſenger of antiquity. Heereby wee are armed againſt all the rage and raſhneſſe of Fortune: and heereby wee may ſeeme (in regarde of the knowledge of thinges) to haue trauelled in all Countries, to haue liued in all ages, and to haue beene conuerſant in all affayres. Neyther is that the leaſt benefit of hiſtory, that it preſerueth eternally, both the glory of good men, and ſhame of euill. Some Philoſophers doe deny, that glory is to be deſired: for vertue (ſay they) is a reward vnto it ſelfe, and muſt not be reſpected for the vaine and titulare blaſtes of glory: yet in wryting theſe things, they affect that eſpecially, which they eſpecially depraue. And indeede there is no man hath ſo horny hartſtrings, (as *Perſius* ſpeaketh) who is not tickled with ſome pleaſure of praiſe, againe there is no man of ſo flinty a forehead, who is not touched with ſome feare of infamy and ſhame. Doe we thinke that the valiant ſouldier thinketh no toyle too tough, but boldly aduentureth the hazard of all happes, becauſe he is weary of his life? death commeth by nature to all men alike, onely with difference of memory with poſterity.

And I would thinke that Cities at the firſt were builded, Lawes made, and many things inuented for the vſe of men, chiefly for deſire of glory: which humour except the old gouernours of common wealths, had thought neceſſary, they would neuer haue foſtered it as they did, with Garlandes, ſtatutes, trophies and triumphes, in which notwithſtanding it is but temporary and ſhort; but in hiſtories of worth it is onely perpetuall. This *Cicero* perceiuing he dealt with *Luceius* to commit his actions to the monuments of his writings: and *Plinie* the yonger did wiſh that he might be mentioned in the hiſtories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, becauſe he did foreſee that they ſhould neuer decay.

But theſe are ſuch as are not led away with a luſt, eyther to flatter or to deface, whereby the credite of hiſtorie is quite ouerthrowne. Yet the endeuour to curry fauour

is more easily disliked, as bearing with it an open note of seruility, and therefore *Alexander* when he heard *Aristobulus* read many things that he had written of him farre aboue truth, as he was sayling the floud *Hidaspis*, he threw the booke into the Riuer, and sayd that hee was almost mooued to send *Aristobulus* after for his seruile dealing; but enuious carping carieth a counterfeite shew of liberty, and thereby findeth the better acceptance.

And since I am entred into this point, it may seeme not impertinent to write of the stile of a history, what beginning, what continuance, and what meane is to bee vsed in all matter, what thinges are to bee suppressed, what lightly touched, and what to be treated at large: how creadit may be won, and suspition auoyded: what is to bee obserued in the order of times, and description of places and other such circumstances of weight; what liberty a writer may vse in framing speeches, and in declaring the causes, counsailes and euents of things done: how farre hee must bend himselfe to profit: and when and how hee may play vpon pleasure, but this were too large a fielde to enter into: therefore least I should run into the fault of the *Mindians*, who made their gates wider then their towne, I will heere close vp, onely wishing that all our English histories were drawne out of the drosse of rude and barbarous English: that by pleasure in reading them, the profit in knowing them, myght more easily bee attayned.

THE FIRST PARTE OF THE LIFE AND RAIGNE OF KING Henry the fourth,

Extending to the end of the firſt yeare of his raigne.

THe noble and victorious Prince, King *Edward* the third, had his fortunate gift of a long and proſperous raigne ouer this Realme of England, much ſtrengthened and adorned, by natures ſupply of ſeuen goodly ſonnes. *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne, Prince of Wales, commonly called the Blacke Prince: *William* of Hatfield; *Lyonel* Duke of Clarence: *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter: *Edmund* of Langley, Duke of Yorke: *Thomas* of Woodſtocke Duke of Glouceſter: and *William* of Windſore. Theſe ſonnes, during the life of their renowned Father, were ſuch ornaments and ſuch ſtayes to his eſtate, as it ſeemed no greater could be annexed thereunto. For neither armies, nor ſtrong holdes are ſo great defences to a Prince, as the multitude of children:

Fortes may decay, and forces decreaſe and both decline and fall away, eyther by varietie of fortune, or inconſtancie of mens deſires: but a mans owne bloud cleaueth cloſe vnto him; not ſo much in the bliſſes of proſperity, which are equally imparted to others, as in the croſſes of calamity, which touch none ſo neere, as thoſe that are neereſt by nature. But in ſucceeding times they became in their off-ſpring, the ſeminarie of diuiſion and diſcord, to the vtter ruine of their families, and great waſte and weakning of the whole Realme: for they that haue equall dignitie of birth and bloud, can hardly ſtoope to termes of ſoueraignty, but vpon euery offer of occaſion will aſpire to indure, rather no equall then any ſuperiour, and for the moſt part, the hatred of thoſe that are neereſt in kind, is moſt diſpitefull and deadly if it once break forth. The feare of this humour cauſed *Romulus*, to imbrew the foundations of the Citie and Empire of Rome, with the bloud of his brother *Remus*. According to which example, the Tyrants of Turkie, thoſe butchers of Sathan, doe commonly at this day beginne their raigne, with the death and ſlaughter of all their brethren.

Prince *Edward* the thunderbolt of warre in his time, dyed during the life of his father. And although, he was cut off in the middle courſe, and principall ſtrength of his age, yet in reſpect of honour and fame he liued with the longeſt, hauing in all parts fulfilled the meaſure of true Nobilitie. He left behind him a young ſonne called *Richard*, who after the death of King *Edward*, was Crowned king in his ſteade, and afterward dyed child-leſſe.

William of Hatfield king *Edwards* ſecond ſonne, dyed alſo without iſſue, leauing no other memorie of his name, but the mention onely.

Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward*, was a man of comely perſonage, of ſpeech and pace ſtately, in other qualities of a middle temperature, neither to bee admitted nor contemned, as rather voide of ill partes,

then

then furniſhed with good. He had iſſue *Philip* his only daughter, who was ioyned in marriage to *Edmunde Mortimer*, Earle of March: Who in the Parliament holden in the eight yeare of the raigne of King *Richard*, was in the right of his wife, declared heire apparant to the Crowne, in caſe the King ſhould die without children; but not many yeares after he dyed, leauing iſſue by the ſaid *Philip*, *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March. This *Roger* was ſlaine in the rude and tumultuous warres of Ireland, and had iſſue *Edmund*, *Anne*, and *Elinor*, *Edmund* and *Elinor* died without iſſue. *Anne* was married to *Richard* Earle of Cambridge, ſonne to *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of Yorke, the fift ſonne of King *Edward*. Of theſe two came *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of Yorke: who by the right deuolued to him from his mother, made open claime to the Crowne of England, (which was then poſſeſſed by the family of Lancaſter) firſt by law, in the Parliament holden the thirtieth yeare of the Raigne of King *Henrie* the ſixt: where either by right or by fauour, his cauſe had ſuch furtherance, that after King *Henrie* ſhould die, the Crowne was entayled to him, and to the heires of his bloud for euer. But the Duke impatient to linger in hope, choſe rather to endure any daunger, then ſuch delay: Whereupon hee entred into armes ſoone after, againſt King *Henrie* in the field. But being caried further by courage, then by force hee coulde beare through, he was ſlaine at the battaile of Wakefield, and left his title to *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne: who with inuincible perſiſtance did proſecute the enterpriſe, and after great varietie of fortune at the laſt atchieued it.

Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward* the third, was a man of high and hardie ſpirit, but his fortune was many times not anſwerable, either to his force or to his forecaſt. He had two ſonnes *Henrie* Earle of Derby (of whom I ſuppoſe chiefly to treate) and *Iohn* Earle of Somerſet. This *Iohn* was father to *Iohn* Duke of Somerſet,

who had issue *Margaret*, Countesse of Richmond, mother to the noble Prince, *Henrie* the seuenth.

Henrie Plantagenet Earle of Derby, was likewise by his mother *Blanch*, extracted from the bloud of Kings, being discended from *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Henrie* the third: by which line: the Dutchie of Lancaster did accreue vnto his house. He was a man of meane stature, well proportioned and formally compact: of good strength and agilitie of body, skilfull in armes, and of a ready dispatch: ioyntly shewing himselfe both earnest & aduised in all his actions. He was quicke and present in conceite, forward in attempt, couragions in execution, and most times fortunate in euent. There was no great place of imployment and charge, which hee would not rather affect for glorie, then refuse either for peril, or for paines; and in seruice hee often prooued himselfe not onely a skilfull commaunder by giuing directions: but also a good Souldier in vsing his weapon, aduenturing further in person sometimes, then policie would permit; his expences were liberall and honourable, yet not exceeding the measure of his receipts, he was very courteous and familiar respectiuely towards all men, whereby hee procured great reputation and regarde, especially with those of the meaner sort: for high humilities take such deepe roote in the mindes of the multitude, that they are more strongly drawne by vnprofitable curtesies then by churlish benefits. In all the changes of his estate, he was almost one and the same man: in aduersitie neuer daunted, in prosperitie neuer secure: reteining still his maiestie in the one, and his mildnes in the other: neither did the continuance of his raigne bring him to a proude port and stately esteeming of himselfe, but in his latter years he remained so gentle & faire in carriage, that therby chiefely he did weare out the hatred that was borne him, for the death of King *Richard*. He could not lightly be drawne into any cause, & was stiffe & constant in a good: Yet more easie

to

to be either corrupted or abuſed by flattering ſpeeches, then to be terrified by threats. To ſome men he ſeemed too greedie of glorie, making ſmall difference of the meanes whereby he attained it: and indeed this honour in noble minds is moſt hardly ouer-ruled, and oftentimes it draweth euen the wiſeſt awrie. But before I proceed any further in deſcribing either the qualities, or acts of this Earle, I muſt write ſomething of the Raigne of King *Richard* the ſecond, his coſin germaine: ſo far forth as the follies of the one, were either cauſes or furtherances of the fortunes of the other.

Richard ſonne to *Edward* Prince of Wales, a little before deceaſed, was after the death of King *Edward* the thirde, Crowned King ouer this Realme of England, in the eleuenth yeare of his age: at which yeeres the minde of man is like to the potters earth, apt to be wrought into any faſhion, and which way ſoeuer it hardneth by cuſtome, it will ſooner breake then bend from the ſame. Now the gouernance of the King at the firſt was cõmitted to certain Biſhops Earles, Barons, and Iuſtices. But either vpon nicenes to diſcontent the King, or negligence to diſcharge their duetie, euery one was more ready with pleaſant conceits to delight him, then with profitable counſaile to doe him good: for ſmooth and pleaſing ſpeeches neede ſmall endeauour, and alwayes findeth fauour: whereas to aduiſe that which is meete, is a point of ſome paines, and many times a thankleſſe office. Herevpon two dangerous euils did enſue; flatterie brake in, and priuate reſpects did paſſe vnder publike pretences.

In the third yeare of his Raigne, it was thought meete that this charge ſhould be committed to one man, to auoid thereby the vnneceſſary waſt of the treaſure of the Realme, by allowing yearely ſtipend vnto many. So by the whole conſent of the nobilitie and commons aſſembled together in Parliament, this office was deputed to Lord *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of Warwicke, and a competent penſion was aſſigned him, out of the Kings Eſchequer for his paines.

But the King being now plunged in pleaſure, did immoderately bend himſelfe to the fauouring and aduancing of certaine perſons, which were both reproueable in life, and generally abhorred in all the Realme, and this was the cauſe of two great inconueniences: for many young noble-men and braue Courtiers, hauing a nimble eye to the ſecret fauours and diſlikes of the King, gaue ouer themſelues to a diſſolute and diſhoneſt life, which findeth ſome followers when it findeth no furtherancers, much more when it doth flouriſh and thriue: the King alſo by fauouring theſe, was himſelfe little fauoured and loued of many: for it is oftentimes as daungerous to a Prince, to haue euil and odious adherents, as to be euill and odious himſelfe. The names of theſe men were *Alexander Neuill*, Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Robert Veere*, Earle of Oxforde: *Michael Delapoole* afterwards Earle of Suffolke, *Robert Triſiliane*, Lord chiefe Iuſtice, *Nicholas Brambre*, Alderman of London; and certaine others of no eminencie, either by birth or deſert, but obſequious and pliable to the Kings youthfull humour. Theſe were highly in credit with the King: theſe were alwayes next vnto him, both in companie and counſell: by theſe he ordered his priuate actions: by theſe he managed his affiires of ſtate: he ſpared neither the dignitie nor death of any man, whoſe authoritie and life withſtoode their preferment. In ſo much as in the fifth yeare of his raigne he remoued Sir *Richard Scroope*, from being Lord Chancellor of England (to which office he was by auᵉthoritie of Parliament appointed) becauſe hee refuſed to ſet the great Seale, to the graunt of certaine lands, which had wantonly paſſed from the King: alleaging for his denial, the great debts of the King, and ſmall demerites of the Parties, vpon whome the King might caſt away and conſume, but ſpend in good order he could not; aduertiſing him alſo to haue reſpect, that ryote did not deceiue him vnder the terme and ſhew of liberalitie: and that gifts well ordered procure not ſo much loue, as placed without diſcretion, they

ſtirre

ſtirre enuy. This Chancelor was a man of notable integrity and diligence in his office, not ſcornefully turning away from the ragged coate of a poore ſuppliant, or pale face of a ſickly and feeble limmed ſuter, holding vp their ſimple ſoiled bills of complaint, nor yet ſmothering his conſcience with partiall maintaining of ſuch as were mighty: but being alike to all, he was ſoone diſliked of thoſe that were bad.

In the eight yeere of this Kings raigne, the deſtruction of the Duke of Lancaſter was intended likewiſe vpon the like diſlike: the plot was layed by Iuſtice *Triſilian*, offences were deuiſed, appellors appointed, and Peeres named; he ſhould haue been put vnder arreſt ſuddenly, and foorthwith arreigned, condemned, and executed. But the duke vpon priuy intelligences of theſe contriuances, fled to his caſtle at Pomfret, and there made preparation for his defence againſt the king. So this matter beganne to grow to a head of diuiſion, which the common people at that time very buſily, deſired and ſought: but the kings mother trauelling inceſſantly betweene the king and the duke (notwithſtanding ſhee was both corpulent and in yeeres) laboured them both to a reconcilement: the king, with regard of the dangerous and diſcontented times: the duke with reſpect of his dutie and faith: and ſo partly by her entreaty and aduiſe, partly by their inclination bending to the ſafeſt courſe, all apparancie of diſpleaſure on the one part, and diſtruſt on the other, was for that time layed aſide.

The ſame yere *Michael Delapoole* was made Chancellour of England and created earle of Suffolke: and *Robert Veere* earle of Oxford was created Marqueſſe of Dublme, being the firſt man within the realme that was enobled with that title. But as they grew in honour, ſo did they in hate: for many noble men did infinitely ſtomacke their vndeſerued aduancements, and with theſe the fauour of the people generally went: but the kings intemperate affection was peremptory

emprory and violent, not regarding enuy vntill he could not reſiſt it.

The yeere next following, *Robert Veere* the new Marques was created duke of Ireland. This yeere the knights and Burgeſſes of Parliament put vp many complaints againſt the Earle of Suffolke, vpon which they deſired his anſweres and triall: namely, how he had abuſed the King in taking of him to farme all the profits & reuenues of the crown: how wantonly he waſted the treaſure of the land in riotous liberality, and vnneceſſary charges: how deepe he had diued into the kings debt: how careleſſe and corrupt hee was in his office: how greatly he had both deceiued and diſcredited the king in certaine dealings and accounts particularly expreſſed: with diuers other imputatious touching diſhonor and diſhoneſty, both in priuate action and in office. This Earle was a merchants ſonne in London, and growing mighty on the ſudden, hee could not gouerne himſelfe in the change: but proſperity layed open the ſecret faults of his minde, which were ſuppreſſed and cloaked before: and ſeruing a weake ruler in great place, with an ill minde, he made open ſale of his Princes honour. Yet the King was willing, either ſecretly to diſſemble, or openly to remit theſe offences: and ſo paſſed them ouer with a ſhort audience (as his manner was in matters of greateſt weight) and without examination, ſhewing himſelfe neither grieued at the faults, nor well pleaſed with the complaint. Afterwardes a Subſidie was required: but anſwere was made that this needed not, ſince the Kings wants might be furniſhed with the debts which were owing him from his Chancellour: neither was it to any purpoſe, ſo long as the money ſhould be ordered by ſuch perſons as before it had beene, and that that time was like. Then were the matters againſt the L. Chancellour againe ſet on foote, and the king perſwaded that it was neither honourable nor ſafe to beare him out; that to priuat men it was ſufficient if themſelues

ſelues abſtaine from wrong, but a Prince muſt prouide that none do wrong vnder him: for by maintaining, or wincking at the vices of his officers, he maketh them his own, and ſhall ſurely be charged therewith when firſt occaſion doth ſerue againſt him. At the laſt, vpon inſtant importunity of both houſes, the king did conſent, that a commiſſion ſhould goe forth to certaine noble men, giuing them authority to heare and determine all matters which were obiected againſt the L. Chancellour: and then was a Subſidie granted, with exception, that the money ſhould be expended by the Lords, to the benefit and behalfe of the Realme. The king did further demaund, that the heyres of *Charles Bloyes*, who made claim to the Dutchy of Britaine, ſhould be ſold to the French men for thirty thouſand markes, & the money granted to the duke of Ireland, for recouery of thoſe poſſeſſions which the king had giuen him in Ireland: this was likewiſe aſſented vnto, vpon condition, that before Eaſter the next enſuing, the duke ſhould depart into Ireland, and there remaine: at ſo high a price did they value the riddance of him out of the realme.

The charge of the Subſidie money was committed to *Richard* Earle of Arundell, Commiſſioners for the Earle of Suffolke, were appointed, *Thomas* Duke of Glouceſter the kings vncle, and the ſaid Earle of Arundell: but during the time of their proceeding, the king kept all off, in places farre diſtant: either to manifeſt thereby the diſcent of his minde, or to auoid the griefe which his neereneſſe would encreaſe: And now was the Chancellour left vnto himſelfe, to anſwere to thoſe demeanures, wherein hee made the kings blind fauour his priuiledge and protection, ſuppoſing neuer to ſee the ſame either altered or ouer-ruled. In the end, being conuict of many crimes and abuſes, he was depoſed from his office, his goods were coſiſcated to the kings Exchequer, and himſelfe was adiudged woorthy of death: Yet was execution ſubmitted to the Kings pleaſure, and vnder ſureties he was

permitted to goe at large. At the ſame time *Iohn Foorde* Biſhop of Dureſme, another of the Kings dainties, was remoued alſo from being Lord Treaſorer of England, he was a man of little depth, either in learning or wiſedome, but one that had the Arte of ſeeming, in making the beſt ſhewe of whatſoeuer he ſpake or did: and riſing from meane eſtate to ſo high a pitch of honour, hee exerciſed the more exceſſiuely his ryote auarice and ambition, not able to moderate the luſtes and deſires which former want had kindled.

When this buſineſſe was blowne ouer, the King returned againe to London, and did preſently receiue the Earle of Suffolke, with the Duke of Ireland, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, to greater grace and familiaritie then at any time before. Theſe *Triumuirs* did not ceaſe to ſtirre vp the Kings ſtomacke againſt thoſe Noble men, whoſe ſpeciall excellencie had made matter of fame and regard: partly for the diſgraces which they had receiued, partly vpon malicious emulation, to ſee the other ſo fauoured, and themſelues ſo odious, and that their priuate choller and ambition might beare ſome ſhew of publike reſpect, they ſuggeſted vnto the King, that he was but halfe, yea not halfe a King in his owne Realme, but rather the ſhadow and picture of a King: for if we reſpect (ſaid they) matters of ſtate, you beare the ſword, but they ſway it, you haue the ſhewe, but they the authority of a Prince, vſing your name as a colour and countenance to their proceeding, and your perſon as a cypher, to make them great, and be your ſelfe nothing. Looke to the dutie of your ſubiects, and it is at their deuotion: ſo that you can neither commaunde nor demaunde any thing, but with ſuch exceptions and limitations as they pleaſe to impoſe: come now to your priuate actions, your liberalitie (the greateſt vertue in a Prince) is reſtrained, your expences meaſured, and your affections confined, to frowne and fauour as they doe preſcribe. What Ward is ſo much vnder gouernment of his Gardian? Wherein will they next, or can they

more

more abridge you? Except they ſhould take from you the place, as they haue done the power of a Prince: and in this we thinke, they may iuſtly be feared, hauing ſo great might ioyned with ſo great aſpiring mindes. For power is neuer ſafe when it doth exceed: and ambition is like the Crocodile which groweth ſo long as he liueth: or like the Iuie, which faſtning on the foote of the talleſt Tower, by ſmall, yet continuall riſing, at length will climbe aboue the toppe, it is already growne from a ſparke to a flame, from a twigge to a tree, and high time it is that the increaſe were ſtayed: oftentimes ſuch ouerruling of Princes haue proceeded to their ouerthrowing, and ſuch cutting them ſhort hath turned to cutting them off, their mindes are ſuſpicious, their power daungerous, and therefore the opportunity muſt bee preuented.

The Kings owne weakneſſe made him apprehenſiue, and framed his minde to a vaine and needleſſe feare: but chiefly he was moued at the remooning of his Chauncellour and Treaſurer out of their offices, and of the Duke of Ireland out of the Realme, ſuppoſing it a reſtraint to his Princely power, that he might not abſolutely and in things giue or forgiue as his pleaſure ſerued. When theſe priuie incenſers perceiued the Kings humour once ſharpned, they ſo plyed him with plauſible perſwaſions, that (although he was naturally of no cruell diſpoſition, as wanting courage) yet they drew him to many violent and indirect courſes, partly vpon negligence to ſearch out the truth, partly vpon delight to bee flattered and ſmoothly vſed, neither did they long deferre their deuiſes: and firſt it was appoynted, that the Duke of Glouceſter and certaine others of that part, ſhould be inuited to a ſupper within London, and there ſuddainely ſurpriſed and made away. Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, who the yeare before had beene Mayor of London, and in whom abundance of wealth ſupplyed the want of honeſt qualities, was a buſie agent in this butcherly buſineſſe: but *Richard Extone* the Mayor of the

Citie, that yeare, diſcouered the practiſe by whom the Duke was warned both to auoide the preſent perill, and afterwards to be warie of the like.

The yeare next following *Richard* Earle of Arundel, and *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of Notingham, had the conduct of a Nauie committed to their charge: in this viage they tooke aboue a hundred ſaile of the enemies ſhips, fraughted with Wines, and wel appointed for fight: they alſo relieued and fortified Breſt, and tooke two fortes which the Frenchmen had raiſed againſt it. The Earles ſo behaued themſelues in this ſeruice, that they grew to a very great eſtimation, both for courteſie among their Souldiers, and for courage againſt their enemies; & their actions were the more famous, by reaſon of the infortunate ſufficiencie of other Cõmanders, by whoſe either raſhneſſe or cowardiſe many good Souldiers were daily defeated, and euery yeare made notorious, by one loſſe or other. Yet notwithſtanding all their good labour and lucke, they were at their returne, entertained by the King, with great ſtrangenes, both of countenance and ſpeech. Who was ſo vnable to diſſemble his diſpight, that he could hardly deferre it, vntill the heate of the honour and loue which they had wonne, were ſomewhat abated. So much are men more inclinable to reuenge diſpleaſure, then reward deſert: for it is troubleſome to bee gratefull, and many times chargeable: but reuenge is pleaſant, and preferred before gaine.

About the ſame time, *Robert* Duke of Ireland forſooke the company of his lawfull wife, whoſe mother Lady *Iſabel*, was daughter to King *Edward* the third, and inſteede of her he tooke vnto him a baſe Bohemian, a Tauerners daughter. The King little regarded this indignity done vnto his coſin, and in ſo great confuſion of the ſtate, let it paſſe vnreproued, as ouerſhadowed with greater vices: but the Duke of Glouceſter her vncle, tooke it in high diſdaine, as iniurious o the royall bloud, and did attend vpon occaſion to worke

reuenge

reuenge, this was not ſecret from the Duke of Irelande, who like wiſe bent all his deuiſes to bring the Duke of Glouceſter to his ouerthrow. The Duke of Glouceſter did proſecute his enmity openly and manlike: the Duke of Ireland cloſely, and therefore the more dangerouſly. The Duke of Glouceſter was greater in bloud, the Duke of Ireland in fauour; he being vncle to the King, this bearing himſelfe as the Kings fellow. The Duke of Glouceſter pretended for the State, the Duke of Ireland for the King: and much priuate malice did paſſe vnder theſe publike ſhewes: but in oppoſition of ſuch equall powers, there is many times ſmall difference in harme.

And now was Eaſter paſt, the tearme aſſigned to Duke *Robert Veere* for his departure into Ireland: and leaſt his ſtay might breede ſome ſtirre within the Realme, hee ſtill buſied himſelfe in preparation for his iourney, and at laſt (although it were long) made a ſolemne ſhew of ſetting forth. The King went in great ſtate to accompany him to his ſhipping; and the Earle of Suffolke with Iuſtice *Triſiliane*, and the reſidue of that faction, either for fauour followed, or for feare durſt not ſtay behinde. So they paſſed together into Wales, and (whether vpon leuity the Kings mind changed; or whether it was ſo contriued at the firſt to drawe themſelues more ſeparate from the Lords) there the Dukes iourney was at an ende. Then they entred into counſell which way the Lords might beſt be ſuppreſſed: many deuiſes were deepely debated, all pleaſed without reſpect either of danger or diſgrace: but fewe ſtood with likelyhood of euente to their deſires, and therefore none was finally concluded. After long time thus friuolouſly ſpent, they left Wales, and came to the Caſtle of Notingham, where the King cauſed the high Sherifs of all the Shires in the Realme to bee called before him, and demaunded of them, what ſtrength they could make on his part againſt the Lordes, if neede ſhould require: their anſwer was, that the common people did ſo

fauour the Lords, & were ſo well reſolued of their loue and loyalty towards the King, that it was not in their power to rayſe any great power againſt them. Then they were commaunded that no Knights nor Burgeſſes ſhould afterwards bee choſen to any Parliament, but thoſe whom it pleaſed the King to appoynt: whereto they ſayd, that it was a hard matter in thoſe times of iealouſie and ſuſpicion, to bereaue the people of their auncient liberty, in chooſing Knightes and Burgeſſes for the Parliament, ſome few other matters being eyther vnreaſonably required, or obtayned to ſmall end, the Sheriffs were licenſed to depart. Then were aſſembled *Robert Triſilian*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, *Robert Belknape*, chiefe Iuſtice of the Common Pleas, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Stilthrope*, *William Burgh*, Knights and Iuſtices alſo of the Common Pleas, men learned in one rule chiefly, without difference of trueth or falſehoode, to pleaſe thoſe in higheſt places, intituling that wiſedome, which indeed was but baſeneſſe and feebleneſſe of minde: theſe were charged by the King vpon their faith and legeance, to make true and full anſwers to thoſe queſtions following.

1 *Firſt, whether the Statute Ordinances and Commiſſion made and ſet forth the laſt Parliament (whereby was ment the commiſſion againſt* Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke) did derogate from the royall prerogatiue of the King.*

2 *Item, they who procured the ſaid ſtatute &c. to be made and ſet forth, how are they to be puniſhed?*

3 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who prouoked the King to conſent to the premiſes?*

4 *Item, what puniſhment haue they deſerued who compelled the King to conſent to the ſaid Statute &c.*

5 *Item, how are they to be puniſhed, who reſiſted or letted the King in exerciſing his royall power, by remitting any penalties or debts whatſoeuer?*

6 *Item, when a Parliament is aſſembled, and the affaires of the*

the Realme, and the cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament, by the Kings commandement declared, and common Articles limited by the King, vpon which, the Lords & Commons in the ſaid Parliament ſhould proceed: if the Lords and Commons will proceede vpon other Articles, and not vpon the Articles limited by the King, vntill the King hath firſt giuen anſwere to the Articles propounded by them, notwithſtanding that the contrary were enioyned by the King, whether in this caſe the King ought to haue the rule of the Parliament, and ſo to order the fact, that the lords and commons ſhould firſt proceede vpon the Articles limited by the King, or that they ſhould firſt haue anſwer of the King, vpon the articles propounded by thē, before they proceed any further?

7 *Item, whether may the King when he pleaſe diſſolue the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart or no?*

8 *Item, ſince the King may at his pleaſure remoue any of his Officers and Iuſtices, & puniſh them for their offences: whether may the Lords and commons without the Kings will, accuſe his Officers and Iuſtices in Parliament for their offences, yea, or no?*

9 *Item, what puniſhment haue they deſerued, who moued in Parliament, that the Statute whereby King* Edward Carnaruane *was depoſed ſhould be brought forth, by view whereof, the new Statute ordinance and commiſſion aforeſaid were framed?*

10 *Item, whether the iudgement giuen in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, againſt* Michael Delapoole *Duke of Suffolke, was erronious and reuocable, yea, or no?*

These queſtions or rather quarrells were drawne by *Iohn Blake* a Counceller at the Law, by direction of Iuſtice *Triſſilian*, whileſt the King made his ſtay in Wales: to the which the Iuſtices afore-named, ſome in diſcharge of their owne malice, and ſome to ſatisfie the mindes of other, made anſwer as followeth.

To the firſt, that they did derogate from the prerogatiue of the King, becauſe they were againſt his will.

To

To the ſecond and third: that they are to be puniſhed by death, except it pleaſeth the King to pardon them.

To the fourth and fifth: that they are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the ſixth: that whoſoeuer reſiſteth the kings rule in that point, deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ſeuenth, that the King may at his pleaſure diſſolue the Parliament, and whoſoeuer ſhall afterwardes proceed againſt the kings mind, as in a Parliament, he is worthy to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the eight, that they can not, and whoſoeuer doeth the contrarie he deſerueth to be puniſhed as a traitour.

To the ninth, that aſwell the motioner as alſo the bringer of the ſaid ſtatute to the Parliament, are worthy to be puniſhed as traitours.

To the tenth, they anſwered: that the ſaid iudgement ſeemed to them erronious and reuocable in euery part. *In witneſſe whereof, the Iuſtices aforeſaid, with* Iohn Locktone, *the Kings Sergeant at Law, haue ſubſcribed and ſet their ſeales to theſe preſents, &c.*

When theſe bloody ſentences of death and treaſon, were vnder generall and large termes thus faſtened vpon the lords, the king ſuppoſed his attempts againſt them, whether by violence, or by couler of law ſufficiently warranted: but his power both wayes, as it was terrible againſt weake reſiſtance, ſo againſt ſuch mightie defendants it was of ſmall force to effect that which he ſo much affected. Yet he did not omit his firſt indeuour: and firſt accounting the lordes as condemned perſons, he made diuiſion of their lands and goods among thoſe that hee fauoured. Then hee waged ſouldiers to be in a readineſſe for his aſſiſtance, and ſent the Earle of Northumberland to arreſt the Earle of Arundell, at his Caſtle in Reygate, where he then lay. But the Earle of Arundell, either vpon aduertiſement, or ſuſpition of the kings minde, banded himſelfe ſo ſtrong, that when the Earle of Northum-

Northumberland came vnto him, he diſſembled his intent, and left his purpoſe vnperformed. Thus were theſe proceedings of the King, as now in councell, ſo afterwards in euent, not much vnlike that which the Fable telleth of a certaine hunter, who firſt ſold the skinne of the beare, and then went about to take her: but when he came within the forreſt, either by vnskilfulneſſe or miſaduenture, hee not onely miſſed his pray, but fell himſelfe into danger of the beaſt.

The duke of Glouceſter hauing ſecret intelligence of the kings diſpleaſure and of his drift, ſent the Biſhop of London to perſwade the king to entertaine a more fauourable opinion of him: making faith to the biſhop with a ſolemne oath, that he neuer entended any thing to the preiudice of the king, either in perſon or ſtate. The Biſhop not vnskilfull to ioyne profitable perſwaſion with honeſt, declared to the king, that his diſpleaſure againſt the Lords was not groũded vpon iuſt deſert, but either vpon falſe ſuggeſtions of their enemies, or erronious miſtaking of ſome of their actions: how deſirous they were of his grace and fauour: how faithfull and forward they promiſed to perſiſt in all dutifull ſeruice: how honourable this agreement would be to the king: how profitable to the realme: and how daungerous to both, theſe troubles might encreaſe. The king ſeemed to giue good eare & credit to the Biſhops ſpeech: but *Michael Delapoole*, a turbulent man, and againſt quiet counſell obſtinately contentious, ſtanding then by the king, ſoone ſtiffened his mind againſt all impreſſion of friendſhip. Hereupon contention did ariſe betweene the Biſhop and the Earle, and brake forth violently into heat of words. The Earle applyed to the Lordes thoſe obiections wherewith great men are vſually charged: ſparing no ſpight of ſpeech, and vſing all arte to aggrauate matters againſt them. The biſhop replied that the Earle was thus fiercely bent, not vpon his owne neceſſity, nor loue to the king: but onely to ſatisfie his bloody and ambitious humour, wherein he was ſo immoderate that ra-

ther then the lords ſhould not be deſtroyed, he would overwhelme them with the ruines of the ſtate, for tumults might indeed be raiſed by men of little courage, but muſt be maintained with the hazzard, & ended with the loſſe of the moſt valiant: that neither his counſel in this matter was to be followed, being the principall fire-brand of the diſturbance, nor his complaints againſt any man to be any thing regarded, being himſelfe a condemned perſon, and one that held both his life and honour at the pleaſure of the king. At theſe words the king was exceedingly wroth, and charged the biſhop with menacing & threats to avoid his preſence. When the duke of Glouceſter had knowledge hereof, he ſignified the danger to the Earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and Derbie, aduiſing them to take armes, and vnite themſelues for their common defence: for in ſo doubtfull and ſuſpected peace, open warre was the onely way of ſafety. Theſe three Earles were the chiefeſt ſtrength to the ſide, but the Duke bare the moſt ſtroke, becauſe he was moſt bolde, and his greatneſſe almoſt obſcured the names of the reſt. On the other ſide, the king thinking ſeparate dealing the onely way to weaken a confederacy, endeuoured to preuent the lordes in ioyning of their forces: and to that end he ſent a ſtrength of men with charge, either to ſet vpon the earle of Arundell where he did lie: or to intercept him in his paſſage towards the Duke. But the Earle had traueiled all the night before their comming, and ſo happily eſcaped to Haringey parke, where he found the Duke and the other Earles with a ſufficient company, as well to make attempt, as to ſtand vpon reſiſtance.

When the king heard hereof, hee was diſturbed and diſtracted in minde, being now in choiſe either to relent or to reſiſt, whereof he much diſdained the one, and diſtruſted the other. His followers alſo was diuided in counſell: ſome fretting at the diſgrace, and ſome fainting at the danger. The Archbiſhop of Yorke perſwaded the king, that occaſion

was

was now offered to ſhew himſelfa King indeed,if he would muſter a royall armie, and by maine might beate downe the boldneſſe of this preſumption. NIHIL DICTV FACILIVS,ſaid another: *This is more readily deuiſed,then done:* the army againſt vs is mighty, and the commanders are great men,both for courage and skill, and greatly fauoured of the common people: whereby that which is accompted ſo ready pay, may chance to proue a deſperate debt. Therefore it were better with ſome yeelding to enter into conditions of quiet, then by ſtanding vpon high points of honour to hazard the iſſue of a battaile, wherein the King cannot winne without his weakning, nor looſe without daunger of his vndoing. There was then in preſence, a certaine olde Knight, called Sir *Hugh Linne*, a good ſouldier, but a very mad-cap, & one that liued chiefely vpon the liberalitie of noble men; by vaine ieſtes affecting the grace of a pleaſant conceite: of him the King demaunded in mirth, what he thought beſt to be done? Sir *Hugh* ſwore,ſwownes and ſnayles,let vs ſet vpon them,and kill euery man and mothers childe; and ſo we ſhall make riddance of the beſt friendes you haue in the Realme, this giddie anſwere more weighed with the King then if it had beene ſpoken in graue and ſober ſort: and thus it often happeneth,that wiſedome is the more ſweetly ſwallowed when it is tempered with folly,and earneſt is the leſſe offenſiue, if it be deliuered in ieſt. In the end, the deuiſe of rayſing armes was layde aſide, not as diſpleaſing (being ſo agreeable to former proceedings) but as deſpayring to preuaile therby; and the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, with the Biſhop of Ely being Lord Chaunceller, were ſent vnto the Lordes, to vnderſtand the cauſe of their aſſembly: anſwere was made, that it was for the ſifetie of themſelues; the honour of the King, and the ouerthrow of them which ſought the ouerthrow of both. At the laſt it was concluded by mediation of the Biſhops, that the Lordes ſhould come before the King at Weſtminſter,vpon promiſe of his protection,and

there haue audience concerning their griefes: the Biſhop of Ely alſo making priuat faith, that he would diſcouer any danger that he could diſcrie, a little before the time they ſhould come, the Biſhoppe of Ely ſent word of an awaite that was purpoſed to be layd for them, at a place called the Mewes, neere London; aduiſing them either to make ſtay, or to come prepared: but rather to make ſtay, leaſt further prouocation might make reconcilement more hard, hereupon they came not at the time appointed, and the King maruailing at their failance, enquired the cauſe of the Biſhop of Ely: who anſwered, that the Lords found want of true meaning, and that they neither did, nor durſt repoſe aſſurance to the Kings word, which they ſaw to bee vſed as a meanes to entrap them, the King made the matter very ſtrange vnto him, affirming with an oath that he was free from deceite, both in conſent and knowledge: and in a great rage, he commaunded the Sheriffes of Lond n to goe to the place, and ſlay all thoſe whom they found there in waite. Whether this was but a countenance of his, or whether he was not priuie to the practice, it is not aſſuredly knowne, and indeed, the matter was not falſe, but the place miſtaken: for Sir *Thomas Trinet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* had aſſembled many armed men at Weſtminſter, with direction to aſſault the Lords at their beſt aduantage: but perceiuing their deceite to be diſcouered, they diſſolued the company, and ſent them ſecretly away to London.

Then the Lordes, vpon new faith for their ſecurity, came to the King at Weſtminſter, and yet in faith they brought ſecuritie with them, ſuch troupes of men, as in a place where they were ſo intirely fauoured, was able to defend them, in any ſuddaine tumult or daunger: the King vpon their comming entred into Weſtminſter Hall, apparelled in his royall robes: and when he was placed in his ſeate, and had compoſed himſelfe to maieſtie and ſtate, the Biſhop of Ely Lord Chauncellor, made a long Oration to the Lordes in the

Kings

Kings name. Wherein he declared the heinouſneſſe of their offence, the greatneſſe of their perill, how eaſie a matter it had beene for the King to haue leuied a power ſufficient to deſtroy them; and yet for the generall ſpare of his ſubiectes bloud, and in particular fauour to the Duke and other Lords, he made choice to encounter and ouercome them, rather by friendſhip then by force: and therefore was willing, not only to pardon their riot, but alſo to heare their griefes, and in a peaceable and quiet manner to redreſſe them. The Lordes alleadged for cauſes of their taking armes, firſt the neceſſity of their owne defence: ſecondly the loue both of the King and of the Realme, whoſe fame and fortune did daily decline, by meanes of certaine traytors, who liued onely by the diſhonours of the one, and decayes of the other, thoſe whom they challenged for traytors, were *Robert Veere* Duke of Ireland, *Alexander Nenill* Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Michaell Delapoole* Earle of Suffolke, *Robert Triſiliane* Lord chiefe Iuſtice, Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, and certaine others, ſomewhat ſecreter, but nothing better: and to iuſtifie this appeale, they threw downe their gloues, and offered themſelues to the triall by combat. The King replyed, that oftentimes the cauſes of actions being good, yet, if the meanes want moderation, and iudgement, the euents prooue pernicious: and therefore, though theſe complaints were true, yet were theſe courſes not tollerable, which did beare an open face of rebellion, and by licentiouſneſſe of the multitude, might ſoone haue ſorted to ſuch an end: for it is more eaſie to raiſe the people, then to rule them: whoſe fury once ſtirred, will commonly bee diſcharged ſome wayes. But (ſaid he) ſince we haue broken this broyle, wee will not by combating giue occaſion of a new: but at the next Parlament (which he appointed ſhould begin the third day of February then next enſuing) as well you, as they, ſhall be preſent, and iuſtice indifferently done vnto all. In the meane time, he tooke all parties into his protection, that none ſhould endanger or endammage another: Craſtino purificationis.

desiring the Lordes to beare in minde, that as Princes must not rule without limitation, so subiects must vse a meane in their liberties. Then he caused the Duke and the Earles, which all this time kneeled before him, to arise, and went with them into his priuate Chamber, where they talked a while, and drunk familiarly together, & afterwards, with a most friendly farwell he licensed them to depart. They of the contrarie faction were not present at this meeting, and if they had, it was thought, that the presence of the King should little haue protected them.

This act of the King was diuers waies taken: some iudged him fearefull: others moderate, rather in sparing the bloud of his subiectes. The Lordes were very ioyfull of his good-will and fauour, which as by base or bad meanes they would not seeke, so being well gotten, they did highly esteeme. Yet they thought it the safest course, not to separate themselues, suspecting the mutabilitie of the King, and the malice of their enemies, of whome they knew neither where they were, nor what they did intend: and being men of great wealth, and great power, and greatly bent to hurtfull practices, they were feared not without a cause: for the Duke of Ireland, either by setting on, or sufferance of the King, was all this time mustering of Souldiers out of Cheshire and Wales, where he gathered an armie both for number, and goodnesse of men sufficient, if another had beene generall, to haue maintained the side.

When the Lordes were aduertised hereof, they deuided themselues, and beset all the waies by which the Duke should passe to London; determining to encounter him, before he did increase his power, and countenance his actions with the puissance or name of the King. At the last he was met by the Earle of Derby, at a place called Babbelake neere to Burford: and there the Earle put his men in array, resoluing with great boldnes to hazard the battaile, his Souldiers also were full of courage and heart, disliking nothing more thē

delay,

delay as a looſing of time, and a hinderance to the victorie: but the Duke, being a man not fit for action, yet mutinous, and more apt to ſtirre ſtrife, then able to ſtint it: vpon newes of an enemie would preſently haue fled. There was then in the armie as a principall Commander, one Sir *Thomas Molineux*, Conſtable of Cheſhire, a man of great wealth, and of good proofe in ſeruice, vpon whoſe leading all that countrie did depend: he perſwaded the Duke, that this was but a part of the forces that were againſt them, and led onely by the Earle of Derly, a man of no ſpeciall name (at that time) among the Lordes, and if they could not beare through that reſiſtance, it was but in vaine to attempt any great atchiuement by armes. Hereupon the Duke ſtayed his ſteps, but his faint ſpirits were moued by this ſpeech, rather to deſire victory then to hope it: his ſouldiers alſo were dul, ſilent, & ſad, and ſuch as were readier to interpret, then to execute the captaines commandement. So they ioyned battell, but ſcarce ten ounces of bloud was loſt on both ſides, before the duke of Ireland ſet ſparres to his horſe, and forſooke the field. His ſouldiers ſeeing this, threw away their vnfortunat weapons, more for indignation then for feare, ruffling their ranks, and yeelding to the Earle the honour of the field. Sir *Thomas Molineux* in flying away, was forced to take a Riuer which was neere, and as hee was comming foorth againe, a certaine Knight, whoſe names was Sir *Thomas Mortimer*, pulled off his helmet, and ſtabbed him into the brains with his dagger. The reſt ſubmitted themſelues to the diſcretion of the victorers, making them lords ouer their life, and death: but their yeelding was no ſooner offered, then it was accepted, the Earle preſently commaunding that none ſhould be harmed, but thoſe that did make reſiſtance, or beare armour: the Souldiers alſo being willing to ſhew fauour towardes their countrey-men, as ledde into this action, partly vpon ſimplicitie, partly to accompany theſe which came vpon feare. Then the Gentlemen were

ſtill reteined in the Earles company, the common ſouldiours were diſpoiled of their armour onely, and ſo returned againe to their peaceable buſineſſe at home. And this was the firſt act whereby reputation did riſe to the ſide, and the greatnes began, whereunto the Earle afterwards attained.

The Duke of Ireland, at the beginning of his flight, was deſirous to haue paſſed the riuer which ranne by: and comming to a bridge, he found the ſame broken: from thence he poſted to another bridge, which he found guarded with Archers. At the laſt, his fearefulneſſe being feared away (as nothing maketh men more deſperate vpon a doubtfull danger, then feare of that which is certaine) he aduentured to take the ſtreame; in the midſt whereof he forſooke his horſe and ſwam to the other ſide, and ſo by benefite of the night eſcaped, and fled into Scotland: and ſhortly after paſſed the ſeas into Flanders, and from thence trauailed into France: where the continual gall of his griefe ſoone brought his loathed life to an end. His horſe was taken with his breſt-plate, his helmet and his gauntlets, wherevpon it was generally ſuppoſed that he was drowned; and (as in great vncertainties it often happeneth) ſome affirmed that they ſawe his death, which men either glad to heare, or not curious to ſearch, did eaſily beleeue: whether this were thus contriued of purpoſe, or fell ſo out by chance, it was a great meanes of his eſcape, by ſlaying the purſute after him, which otherwiſe had beene made. His coach alſo was taken, and certaine of the Kings letters found, wherein he deſired the Duke to come to London with all the ſpeede and power hee could make, and he would be readie to die in his defence; ſo vnskilfull was he in matter, of gouernment, that to pleaſure a few, he regarded not the diſcontentment of all the reſt.

The Earle of Suffolke, vpon this accident, ſhaued his beard, and in baſe and diſguiſed attire fled to Calice, and either for feare, or for ſhame, neuer after returned into England: he was a cruell ſpoiler, and a careleſſe ſpender, in war contemptible,

contemptible, in peace in-ſupportable, an enemie to all coñ-ſaile of others, and in his owne conceite obſtinately conten-tious; of a good wit, and ready ſpeech both which he abu-ſed, to the cunning commending of himſelfe, and crafty de-prauing of others: he was leſſe loued but better heard of the King then the Duke of Ireland: the more hurtfull man & the more hateful: the Duke being charged with no great fault: but onely the Kings exceſſiue fauour, in their courſe of good and bad fortune, both of them were famous alike. Alſo the Archbiſhop of Yorke, Iuſtice Triſiliane, and others of that faction, ran euery man, like connies to their couerte; Yea, the king betooke himſelfe to the Tower of London, and there made prouiſion for his winter aboade; hauing all his courſes now croſſed, firſt raſhnes in taking armes, and af-terwards by cowardiſe in maintaining them.

The Earle of Darby ſignified this ſucceſſe to his aſſoci-ates by letters, yet without any vaũting or enlarging terms: his ſpeeches alſo were moderate, rather extenuating his fact then extolling it, but by ſtopping his fame, it much encrea-ſed when men eſteemed his high thoughts by his lowely wordes, and his conceite in great exploites, by his contempt of this. Then the Lords met, and marched together towards London, whither they came vpon S. *Stephens* day, having almoſt fortie thouſand men in their armie, & firſt they ſhew-ed themſelues in battaile array, in the fieldes neare vnto the Tower, within the view of the King: afterwardes, they tooke vp their lodgings in the ſuburbes, the Maior and al-dermen of the citty came forth, and gaue liberall allowance, of victuall to the ſouldiers, offering vnto the Lordes enter-tainment within the Citty, but they did not accept it.

Now this diſcord ſeemed to draw to a dangerous diſtrac-tion of the common-wealth; the vanquiſhed parte being ful of malice, and the conquerors of preſumption: the one wan-ting power, the other right to command and rule. The Arch-biſhop of Canterbury, and certaine others of the neutrality,

fearing the ſequele, perſwaded the king to come to a treaty with the lordes: but he made ſhewe of very light regard of all theſe dealings; let them ſtay (ſaide hee) vntill they haue wearied themſelues with maintaining this multitude, and then I will talke further with them. When the lords underſtood the drift of his deviſe, they beſet the Thames, and all other paſſages, & proteſted, that they would not depart vntill they had talked with him to his face. The King hauing neyther ſtrength to reſiſt, nor ſcope to ſcape, conſented to a treaty, and to that end deſired the lords to come to him into the Tower: but they refuſed that place of meeting, vpon feare of falſe meaſure, vntill the King permitted thē to ſearch as diligently, and come as ſtrongly, as they thought it meet. So they came vnto the King well guarded, and after a fewe colde kindneſſes, and ſtrange ſalutations, they laide before him, his proceedings againſt them at Nottingham; his letters which he ſent to the Duke of Ireland contrary to his word, for the rayſing of armes againſt them: his agreement with the French King, for the yeelding vp of Calice and other ſtrong holdes which he poſſeſſed in thoſe parts: with diuers other points of diſhonourable dealing and negligent gouernment. What ſhould the King then haue ſaid or done? all theſe matters were ſo euident and ſo euill, that there was no place left eyther for denyall or defence. Therefore ingenuouſly, firſt with ſilence and patience, afterwardes with teares he confeſſed his errors. And certainely, the ſtiffe ſtomack of the lords relented more to theſe luke warme drops then they would haue done to his cannon ſhot.

Then it was agreed, that the next day the King ſhould meet with them at Weſtminſter, & there treat further, both of theſe, and other neceſſarie affaires of the realme. So the Duke, and the reſt of the lords daparted, except the Earle of Darby, who ſtayed ſupper with the King, and all that time ſtayed him in his promiſed purpoſe: but when he was alſo gone, ſome of the ſecrete counſailers, or corrupters rather,

and

and abuſers of the King, whiſtled him in the eare, that his going to Weſtminſter was neither ſeemly nor ſafe, & would cauſe not onely to his perſon preſent danger and contempt, but alſo both abaſement and abridgement to his authority afterwardes. The Kings minde was ſoone changed; but the Lordes being now ſtirred, and feeling the Kings hand weake to gouerne the bridle, became the more vehement, and ſent him word, that if he did ieofaile with them, and not come according to appointment, they would chuſe another King, who ſhould haue his Nobility in better regard. This peremptorie meſſage ſo terrified the King, that hee not onely went to Weſtminſter, but ſuffered the Lords to doe there euen what they would. So they cauſed him much againſt his liking, to remoue out of the Court, *Alexander Neuill*, Archbiſhop of Yorke, *Iohn Foorde*, Biſhop of Duriſme, Frier *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of Chicheſter, the Kings Confeſſor: Likewiſe they remoued the Lord *Souch*, the Lord *Haringworth*, Lord *Burnell*, Lord *Beaumount*, Sir *Albred Veere*, Sir *Baldewine Bereford*, Sir *Richard Alderburie*, Sir *Iohn Worth*, Sir *Thomas Clifford*, and Sir *Iohn Louell*, taking ſureties, for their appearance at the next Parliament. Alſo certaine Ladies were expelled the Court, and put vnder ſureties: to wit, the Lady *Mowen*, the Lady *Moling*, and the Lady *Ponings*, which was the wife of Sir *Iohn Woorth*. Furthermore, they arreſted *Simon Burlye*, *William Elinghame*, *Iohn Salisburie*, *Thomas Triuet*, *Iames Berneis*, *Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Nicholas Bambre* Knights, *Richarde Clifforde*, *Iohn Lincolne*, and *Richard Motford*, Clearkes, *Iohn Beauchampe* the Kings Stewarde, *Nicholas Lake*, Deane of the Kings Chappell, and *Iohn Blake* Counceller at the Law: all theſe were committed to diuers Priſons, where they were forth-comming, but not comming forth, vntill the Parliament next following.

After the feaſt of the Purification, the Parliament began at London, (and yet the King vſed many meanes, eyther to daſh or deferre the ſame) to which the Lordes came, attended 1388

ded with the number and ſtrength of a full armie, vpon colour to repreſſe any ryote that might happen to ariſe: but in truth, that by this terrour, they might draw the whole manage of affaires vnto themſelues. This aſſembly continued vntill Whitſontide next following, with very great feare of ſome men, and hope of others, and expectation of all. Herein was Iuſtice *Triſiliane*, by counſaile of the Lords, againſt the Kings minde, condemned to be drawne and hanged: which iudgement was preſently executed vpon him: the like ſentence and execution paſſed vpon Sir *Nicholas Brambre*, Sir *Iohn Salisburie*, Sir *Iames Barneis*, *Iohn Beauchampe*, the Kings ſteward, and *Iohn Blake* Eſquire, who had framed the Articles which were exhibited againſt the Lordes at Nottingham. Alſo the Iuſtices who gaue their iudgement concerning thoſe Articles, *Robert Belknape*, *Iohn Holte*, *Roger Fulthrope*, and *William Burghe*, were condemned to perpetuall exile: and yet they did not enterpoſe themſelues, but intermeddle by conſtraint. Sir *Simon Burlye* was alſo beheaded, who was keeper of Douer Caſtle; and had conſpired to deliuer the ſame vnto the Frenchmen: hee was infinitely haughtie and proude, equall to the meaneſt in vertue and wiſedome, but in brauery and traine inferiour to no Duke. Diuers other were either put to death, or baniſhed, and ſome (as it happened when the reyne of fury is at large) without any great cauſe. The Earle of Derby furthered no mans death, but laboured very inſtantly for the life and libertie of many, in ſo much as hoat ſpeeches did ariſe betweene the Duke of Glouceſter and him: whereby he purchaſed a fauourable opinion among thoſe of the contrarie part, hauing cauſed the death of no man, but onely in the fielde. Then was an oath exacted of the King, to ſtand to the gouernment of the Lordes: and alſo a note was taken of all the Subiects within the Realme, to be true and faithfull vnto the King. The King in taking this oath of the Lordes, bewrayed his inward conceite by his open countenance, looking

king pleasantly on those he fauoured, and angerly on those whom he hated; by which vntimely discouery, hee made them more heedefull, and himselfe more hatefull: which were occasions afterwarde, both to preuent the reuenge, which he much desired, and to procure the mischiefes which hee little feared. Lastly, a subsidie was graunted: and so the King comming as it were to a capitulation with the Lordes, hee to haue the name of a King, and they the authority and maiesty, the contention for that time ceased.

All this was done in the xj. yeare of the Kings raigne, hee being yet vnder age, and in gouernement of others. But the yeare following, hee beganne to take vpon him more liberty and rule: and vpon extreame disdaine, that both his pleasure and his power were by the Lords thus restrained, he did euer after beare a hard minde against them. And first he assembled them in the Councell Chamber, and there demanded of what yeares they tooke him to be: they answered, that he was somewhat aboue one and twenty; then (sayd he) I am of lawfull age to haue the regiment in mine owne hand, and therefore you doe me wrong to holde me still vnder gouernment, as though the condition of a King were harder then of a subiect. This the Lords were neither willing to grant, nor able to deny, and therefore they either kept silence, or spake little to the purpose. Well (said the King) since I am no longer an infant, I heere renounce your rule, and take vpon me such free administration of the Realme, as the Kings thereof my predecessours heeretofore haue lawfully vsed. Then presently he beganne his Phaetons flourish, and commaunded the Bishop of Elie being L. Chancellour to resigne his seale; which the King receiued, and put vp, and therewith departed out of the Chamber: but soone after he returned againe, and deliuered the same to *William Wickam* Bishop of Winchester, constituting him L. Chancellour thereby. Many other officers he likewise deposed; and placed new in their roome; partly to manifest his author- 1389.

rity, and partly to ſatisfie his diſpleaſure. Alſo he remoued the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Warwicke, and many others from his Priuy Councell, and tooke thoſe in their places, which more regarded the humour of the King, but leſſe his honour.

Soone after, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the Duke of Glouceſter was gathering forces againſt him: but vpon examination there was found not onely no truth, but no ſhew or colour of any ſuch matter. The Duke would not quietly haue diſgeſted the rayſing of theſe reports: but the King, whether vpon a generall delight, to be tickled in the eares with ſuch tales, or vpon particular deſire to haue ſome quarrell againſt the Duke, charged him to ſilence.

1390. In the 13. yeare of the Raigne of King *Richard*, the Citizens of Genua deſired his aide, againſt the Barbarians of Afrike, who with daily incurſions infeſted and ſpoyled all the Sea coaſts and Ilands of Italy, & Fraunce, which fronted vpon them. The King ſent a choice company of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Henry* Earle of Derby; who behaued himſelfe in this charge with great integrity and courage, inciting his men, the good by praiſe, the bad by example rather then reproofe, as more ready to commend the vertues of the one, then to vpbraid the vices of the other. And firſt hee paſſed into Fraunce, and there joyned himſelfe to certaine French forces, appointed likewiſe for this ſeruice: then with might and minds vnited, they ſayled together into Africke. At their arriuall, the Barbarians were ready in armes to keepe them from landing: but the Earle commaunded his Archers to breake through and make paſſage, deſpiſing the enemy, whom hee knew to be weake and vnskilfull in ſeruice, and not to haue that aduantage in place, which hee had in men: the Frenchmen alſo ſharply ſet in, and ſeconded the Engliſh: and ſo whileſt both companies contended, the one to be accompted a helpe, and the other to ſeeme to need no helpe, the enemies were forced to flie, and leaue the ſhoare vnto the Chriſtians.

Chriſtians. In this conflict, three Dukes of the Barbarians and aboue three hundred Souldiers were ſlaine, and in the flight, fower Dukes were taken, and a great, yet vncertaine number of common people. Then the Chriſtians marched directly towards Tunis, the head citie of that country: this they beſieged,& in ſhort time tooke,chiefely by the prowes of the Engliſh ſouldiers, who firſt ſcaled the Walls, and reared thereon the Earles banner. When they were entred the Towne, the Engliſhmen bent their endeauour, to the houſing of their enemies, and beating downe of ſuch as made reſiſtance, but the Frenchmen ſtraight wayes turned to their laſciuious pleaſures: ſo that there was preſented a ſpectacle, both pitifull & ſhameleſſe: in one place butchering of men,in another ryoting with women: here ſtreames of bloud, and heapes of ſlaughtered bodies, hard by diſſolute and licentious wantonneſſes in ſome, all the miſeries of a cruell warre, and the looſeneſſe of a ſecure peace. Here were ſlaine and taken aboue foure thouſand Barbarians: the Kings brother alſo was ſlaine: but the King himſelfe fled into the Caſtle, which was ſtrongly ſcited, and well fortified and furniſhed with men. The Chriſtians laid ſiege to this Caſtle the ſpace of fiue weekes, during which time, they loſt many of their men, yet not by ſword, but by ſickneſſe: the Barbarians alſo were diſtreſſed with want of victuall, hauing but little prouiſion, and many vnprofitable mouthes to conſume it: hereupon they ſent vnto the Chriſtians, to deſire peace, offering them a great ſumme of money, to depart out of their countrey: this the Chriſtians accepted, vpon condition that they might alſo freely carry with them, all their pray and priſoners; and that the Barbarians ſhould from thencefoorth ſurceaſe from making ſpoyle, vpon any of the coaſtes of Italy, or Fraunce. Thus had this voyage a proſperous and ſpeedie end: the onely ſeruice (as I ſuppoſe) which the Engliſh and Frenchmen performed together,without iotte of iarre. And yet the Earle abuſed not the fortune of this ſucceſſe, to vaine

vaunting, or brauing in words, but moderately imparted to the reſt, the honour of the exployt: ſo by valiantly performing his charge, and ſparingly ſpeaking thereof, his glorie encreaſed, without bit of enuie.

1392 1393 In the fifteenth and ſixteenth yeres of the raigne of King *Richard*, certaine cauſes of diſcontentment did grow, betweene the King and the Londoners, which ſet the favour of the one, and the faith of the other, at great ſeparation and diſtance: One was, for that the King would haue borrowed of them a thouſand poundes: which they feeling much, and fearing more the Kings daily exactions, did not onely deny, but euill intreated a certaine Lumbard, who offered to lay out the money.

Another griefe was thus occaſioned: One of the Biſhop of Salisburies ſeruants, named *Romane*, meeting in Fleet-ſtreet with a Bakers man, bearing horſe-bread, tooke a loafe out of his basket: and by rude demaund of the one, and rough deniall of the other, chollar ſo kindled betwixt them, that *Romane* brake the bakers head. Hereupon the neighbors came forth, and would haue arreſted the Biſhops luſty yeoman: but he eſcaped, and fled to this Biſhops houſe. The Conſtable followed peaceably, and demaunded a quiet deliuery of the offendour: but the Biſhops men ſhut the gates againſt him, that no man could come neere. Then much people flocked together, threatning to breake open the gates, and fire the houſe, vnleſſe *Romane* were brought forth vnto them: What (ſaid they) are the Biſhops men priuiledged? or is his houſe a ſanctuary? or will he protect thoſe whom he ought to puniſh? if we may be ſhuffled off in this ſort, not onely our ſtreets, but our ſhoppes and our houſes ſhall neuer be free from violence and wrong. This we will not endure: we cannot: it ſtandeth not vs in hand. Heerewith they approched the gates, and began to uſe violence: but the Maior and Shiriffes of the City, vpon aduertiſement of this tumult, came amongſt them, crying out, that it was

not

not courage, but out-rage which they ſhewed: whereby they would procure, both daunger to themſelues and diſpleaſure againſt the whole Citty; that although wrong had beene receiued, yet they were not in the men, nor this the meanes to redreſſe the ſame: So partly by their perſwaſions partly by their preſence and authoritie, they repreſſed the riot, and ſent euery man away, with ſtreight charge to keep the peace. Here was yet no great harme done, and the quarrell might haue beene quieted without more adoe, had not the Biſhop ſtirred therein, and kindled the coales of vnkindneſſe a freſh. For the Londoners at that time, were not onely ſuſpected ſecretly, but openly noted to be fauourers and followers of wickliffes opinions: for which cauſe, they were much maliced of the Biſhops; and many of their actions interpreted, to proceede from another minde, and tend to a worſe ende, then was outwardly borne in countenance and ſhew: and ſome matters of chaunce, were taken as done of purpoſe. Therefore the Biſhop of Salisburie called *Iohn Waltham*, who was alſo treaſurour of England, made a grieuous complaint of this attempt, to *Thomas Arundel* Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellour; affirming, that if vpon euery light pretence, the citezens might be ſuffered in this ſort to inſult vpon the biſhoppes, without puniſhment, without reproofe and blame, they would bring into a hazzard, not onely the dignity and ſtate: but the liberty alſo of the whole Church: did they not lately take vpon them the puniſhment of adulteries, and other crimes appertaining to eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction? maliciouſly alleaging, that the biſhops and their officers, either being infamous for thoſe vices themſelues, did wincke at the ſame in others: or elſe by coueteous commutation, did rather ſet them to ſale, then carefully repreſſe them. Did they not rudely and vnreuerently breake open the doores vpon the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and interrupt his proceedings againſt *Iohn Aſtone*, an open follower of wickliffe? and doe we think that this is the

laſt indignity that they will offer? no ſurely, nor yet the leaſt: and if this boldnes be not beaten downe, our authority will fall into open contempt and ſcorne, and be made a common foote ball, for euery baſe citizen to ſpurne at. Herevpon they went together to the King, and ſo incenſed his diſpleaſure againſt the Londoners, (being prepared thereto by former prouocations) that hee was in the mind to make ſpoyle of the citty, and vtterly to deſtroy it. But being perſwaded to ſome more moderation in reuenge, firſt hee cauſed the Maior and Shiriffes, and many of the chiefe citizens to be apprehended, and committed to divers ſeverall priſons: then hee ceazed all the liberties of the citty into his hands, and ordained, that no Maior ſhould any more bee elected, but that the King ſhould at his pleaſure appointe a Warden and governour ouer the citty. This office was firſt committed to Sir *Edward Darlington*: who for his gentleneſſe towardes the citizens, was ſhortly after remooued, and Sir *Bawldwine Radington* placed in his roome. Alſo the King was induced, or rather ſeduced by the Archbiſhop of Yorke Lord Chauncellour, to remoue the Tearmes and Courtes: to wit, the Chauncery, the Exchequer, the kings bench, the hamper, and the common pleas, from London, to be kept at Yorke, where the ſame continued from midſommer in the yeare 1393. vntill Chriſtmaſſe next following, to the great hinderance and decay of the citty of London. At the laſt, the King vpon earneſt intreaty of the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Glouceſter, called the Londoners before him at Windſore: where (having firſt terrified them with the preſence and ſhew of a greate number of armed men) hee cauſed all the priviledges of the citty, both old and new, to be brought forth, whereof hee reſtored ſome, and reſtrayned the reſt: yet the Londoners were not fully reſtored to fauour; neither recouered they at that time, either the perſon or dignity of their Mayor. Shortly after, the King went to London: at whoſe comming the citizens

tizens changed all their griefe into gladneſſe (as the common ſort is without meaſure in both) entertaining him with ſuch ioyfull triumphes and rich preſentes, as if it had beene the day of his coronation. They ſuppoſed with theſe great curteſies and coſts to haue ſatisfyed his diſpleaſure; but they found themſelues farre deceiued: for they were not fully reſtored to their liberties againe, vntill they had made fine to pay vnto the King ten thouſand pounds. Thus did the Londoners manifeſt in themſelues, a ſtrange diuerſity of diſpoſition, both licentiouſly to committe offence, and patiently to endure puniſhment; hauing raſhneſſe and rage ſo tempered with obedience, that they were eaſily puniſhed, who could not poſsibly bee ruled. Yet for this cauſe, ſo ſoone as firſt occaſion did ſerue againſt the King; they ſhewed themſelues, either his earneſt enemies, or faint friends.

King *Richard* in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, paſſed the ſeas to Calice: the French King alſo came downe to Arde: betweene which two townes, a place was appoyuted, and tentes erected for both the Kings to meete. After large expences on both ſides, and great honour done by the one King to the other: a ſurceaſe of armes was concluded betweene them for thirty yeares: and King *Richard* tooke to wife Lady *Iſabel*, the French Kings daughter, being not aboue ſeuen or eight yeares olde. The Duke of Glouceſter was ſo offended; both with this friendſhip, and affinity, that hee loſt all manner of patience: exclaiming, that it was more meete to bee in armes, then in amity with the French men, who being inferiour to the Engliſh in courage, did alwayes ouer-reach them in craft, and being too weake for warre, did many times preuaile by peace: that now they had got into their hands, many townes and Holdes, appertayning to the Crowne of England, they were willing to conclude a peace, to exclude the King thereby from his poſſeſſions: but whenſoeuer occaſion ſhoulde

change for their aduantage, they would be then as ready to ſtart from the friendſhippe, as at that preſent they were to ſtrike it: that the French Kings daughter, being but a child, was very vnmeet for the marriage of King *Richard*, as well for diſparity of age, as for that the King had no iſſue by his firſt wife, and was not like to haue any by this, except (perhappes) in his old and withered yeares. When the Duke ſaw, that with theſe motiues he did nothing preuaile, he ſuborned the Londoners, to make petition to the King, that ſeeing there was peace with Fraunce, he would releaſe them of the Subſidie which they had graunted to him in regard of thoſe warres. This ſuite was inſtantly followed, and much perplexed the King, vntill the Duke of Lancaſter declared to the people, that the King had beene at the charge and diſpence of three hundred thouſand poundes in his voyage into Fraunce, for the procuring of this peace: whereupon they were pacifyed, and deſiſted from their demaund.

1397 The yeare following, *Guido* Earle of *S. Pauls*, was ſent into England by *Charles* King of Fraunce, to viſite and ſalute in his name, King *Richard*, and Queene *Iſabel* his wife, the French Kings daughter. To this Earle, the King did relate, with what feruencie the Duke of Glouceſter contended to make diſturbance of the peace betweene England and France, how, becauſe his minde was not therein followed, hee mooued the people to ſeditious attempts, bending himſelfe wholly to maintaine diſcord and diſquiet, rather in his owne countrey then not at all. Hee further reported what ſtuffe ſtrifes, in former times, the Duke had ſtirred: which, howſoeuer they were done, yet as they were declared, they ſounded very odious and hard. When the Earle heard this, hee preſently anſwered, that the Duke was too daungerous a ſubiect to be permitted to liue: that greatneſſe was neuer ſafe, if it grow exceſſiue and bolde: that the King muſt not affect the vaine commendation of clemency,

clemency, with his owne perill: and that it touched him, both in honour to reuenge the disgraces which he had receiued, and in policy to preuent the dangers which he had cause to feare. These words so sharpened the Kings displeasure, that from thenceforth hee busied his braines in no one thing more, then how to bring the Duke to his end. Now he began to pry more narrowly into his demeanour: to watch his words: to obserue actions: and alwaies to interpret them to the woorst, framing himselfe to many vaine and needlesse feares. Often-times he would complaine of him to the Duke of Lancaster, and the Duke of Yorke, how fierce and violent he was in his speeches, and crosse to him in all matters. The Dukes would make answere that the Duke of Glouceſter their brother, was indeed more hoate and vehement then they did commend: yet his fiercenesse was ioyned with faithfulnesse, and his crossenesse proceeded from a care, least the Common-wealth should decrease either in honour or in possessions: and therefore the King had neither neede to feare, nor cause to dislike.

About that time, the Dukes of Lancaster and of Yorke withdrew themselues from the court, to their priuate houses, the Duke of Gloceſter also went to lye at Plashey, neere Chelmsforde in Essex: vpon aduantage of which seperation, the King stood distracted in minde, betweene feare to differ, and shame to auow the destruction of the Duke, least he might happily be disappointed by the one, or dishonoured by the other. Hereupon hee entred into counsaile with *Iohn Holland*, Earle of Huntington, his halfe brother: and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earle of Nottingham, how the Duke of Glouceſter might be suppressed or oppressed rather, the cruelty which was but wauering in the King, yea wanting by nature, was soone confirmed by euill aduise: and being once inclined to bloud, he did not faile, either of examples of lewd action to followe: or direction of cruell counsaile what to doe: so the plotte was contriued, and according thereto, the

King and the Earle of Notingham rode together into Eſſex, as though it were to diſport themſelues in hunting: when they were in the middeſt of the Forreſt, the Earle made ſtay, and the King paſſed forth with a ſmall and vnſuſpitious company to the Duke, lying at Plaſhey: there he ſtayed dinner: and then pretending occaſion of preſent returne, he deſired the Duke to accompany him to London, the faire intreatie of a Prince, is a moſte forcible commaunde: therefore the Duke ſuppoſing that onely to be intended indeede, which was pretended in ſhewe, went to horſe-backe with the King, taking ſuch ſmall attendance, as vpon the ſudden could be in a readineſſe, and appointing the reſt to come after him to London. So they rode together, vſing much familiar talke by the way, vntill they came neere the place of await: then the King put his horſe forwarde, and the Duke comming behinde, was ſuddenly intercepted and ſtayed, crying aloud, and calling to the King for his helpe: the King continued his iourney as though he had not heard: and the Duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there ſhipped in a veſſell layed for the purpoſe, and from thence conueyed ouer to Calice.

When the King came to London, he cauſed the Earle of Warwicke alſo to be arreſted and ſent to priſon, the ſame day that hee had inuited him to dinner, and ſhewed good countenance, and promiſed to bee a gracious Lord vnto him. Vpon the like diſſembled ſhewe, the Earle of Arundell, and his ſonne, and certaine others were arreſted alſo, and committed to priſon in the Ile of Wight.

The common people vpon the apprehending of theſe three noble men, whome they chiefely, and almoſt onely fauoured, were in a great confuſion and tumult; and there wanted but a head to draw them to ſedition: euery man ſorrowed, murmured, and threatned, and daring no further, ſtood waiting for one to leade them the way: all being ready to followe that, which any one was loath to beginne.

The

The Duke of Lancaſter and of Yorke gathered a ſtrong armie, and came therewith to London, where they were readily receiued by the citizens, although the King had commaunded the contrary: but this ſeemed to be done, rather for gard to themſelues, then regard to any others.

The King all this time, kept at a village called Helhame, within foure miles of London, hauing about him a great power of armed men, which he had gathered out of Cheſhire and Wales: and to pacifie the common people, hee cauſed to bee proclaimed, that the Lords were not apprehended vpon old diſpleaſures, but for offences lately committed, for which they ſhou'd be appealed by order of law, and receiue open tryall, in the Parliament next following: the like meſſage was ſent to the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Yorke, lying at London: to whom the King made faith, for the ſafety of their perſons, and indemnity of their goods, and that nothing ſhould be attempted without their priuity and aduice: all this was as raſhly belieued, as it was craftily giuen out: whereupon the Dukes diſſembled their feares, and diſſolued their forces, and remained in expectancie what would enſue.

A little before the feaſt of Saint Michael, the Parliament began at London, wherein Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *William Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie Greene*, were principall agents for the Kings purpoſe. Theſe were then in all the credites and authoritie with the King, & his chiefeſt Schoole-maſters both of crueltie and deceite: they were proud, arrogant, and ambitious, and vpon confidence of the Kings fauour, profeſſed enemies to men of ancient Nobilitie; to the ende, that being lately ſtart vp, they might become more famous by maintaining contention with great perſons. And firſt, by their importuned trauaile, all the Charters of pardon, graunted by the King, were in this Parliament annulled and reuoked. Then the Prelates did conſtitute Sir *Henrie Percie* their procurator, and departed the houſe, becauſe

they might not bee preſent in iudgement of blood. Laſtly, the Earle of Arundell, and the Earle of Warwicke were arraigned; and for the ſame offences, for which they had beene pardoned (namely for encroaching to themſelues royall power in iudging to death *Simon Burlye*, *Iohn Berneis*, and others, without the Kings conſent) were condemned to be hanged, drawne, and quartered: but the King ſo moderated the ſeueritie of this ſentence, that the Earle of Arundell was onely beheaded, and the Earle of Warwicke committed to perpetuall impriſonment in the Ile of *Man*.

The Duke of Glouceſter, was ſo greatly fauoured, that it was thought a point both of policie and peace, not to bring him to his open anſwere, but to put him to death ſecretly: ſo he was ſtrangled vnder a feather bedde at Calice by the Earle of Notingham, being then Earle Marſhall: which death, howſoeuer he deſerued; yet dying as he did, not called, nor heard, he dyed as guiltleſſe.

In this ſame Parliament, *Thomas Arundell* Archbiſhop of Canterburie was alſo accuſed, for executing the commiſſion againſt *Michaell Delapoole*, Earle of Suffolke: for which cauſe, his temporalties were ſeazed; his lands and goods forfeited, as well in vſe as in poſſeſſion: and he himſelfe was adiudged to exile, & charged to depart the realme, within ſixe weekes then next enſuing. So he went into France, where afterwardes, hee became a principall meane of the reuolt which followed. Alſo the Lord *Cobham* was exiled into the Ile of Gernſey: and Sir *Reinold Cobham* was condemned to death, not for entring into any attempt againſt the King but becauſe hee was appointed by the Lords to be one of his gouernours, and of his counſaile, in the 11. yeare of his raigne.

Now the King falſely ſuppoſing, that hee was free from all daungers, and that the humour againſt him, was cleane purged and ſpent, conceiued more ſecreate contentment, then he would openly bewray; as more able to diſſemble his

his ioy, then conceale his feare: being ſo blinded and bewitched with continuall cuſtome of flatteries, that hee perceiued not, that the ſtate of a Prince is neuer ſtabliſhed by crueltie and craft. On the other ſide, the common people were much diſmayed, hauing nowe loſt thoſe whome they accompted their onely helpes, and their onely hopes, both for their priuate affaires, and for ſupporting the ſtate: and becauſe theſe miſhaps happened vnto them, for maintayning a cauſe of common diſlike, the peoples ſtomacke was ſtirred thereby to much hate and heart-burning againſt the King. And to make their deathes the more odious, the Earle of Arundell was reputed a martyr, and pilgrimages were dayly made to the place of his buriall: the rumour alſo was current but without either author or ground, that his head was miraculouſly faſtened againe to his body: this whileſt all men affirmed, and no man knew, the King cauſed the corpes to bee taken vp, and viewed, ten dayes after it was interred: and finding the ſame to bee fabulous, hee cauſed the ground to be paued where the Earle was layde, and all mention of his buriall to be taken away, forbidding publikely any ſuch ſpeeches of him afterwardes to bee vſed. But this reſtraint rayſed the more: and they, who if it had beene lawfull, would haue ſaide nothing, being once forbidden, could not forbeare to talke. It was alſo conſtantly reported, that the King was much diſquieted in his dreames with the Earle, who did often ſeeme to appeare vnto him, in ſo terrible and truculent manner, that breaking his fearefull ſleepe, hee would curſe the time that euer he knew him.

In the one and twentie yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Henry* Earle of Darby, was created Duke of Hereford: at which time the King created foure other Dukes: to wit, Duke of Aumerle, who was before Earle of Rutland: Duke of Southrey, who was before Earle of Kent: Duke of Exceſter, who was before Earle of Huntington: and Duke of Norfolke, who was before Earle of Notingham. This 1398.

degree of honour long time after the conqueſt of the Normans (whoſe chiefeſt Rulers had no higher title) was accompted too great for a ſubiect to beare: the fourme of the common-wealth, beeing framed by the victors, farre from equality of all, and yet the King excepted without eminencie of any. At the length King *Edward* the third created his eldeſt Sonne *Edward* Duke of Cornewale, and made this honour hereditarie, conferring it vnto many: ſince which time, diuers Princes of his Land haue beene eyther put, or kept, or hazarded from their eſtate, by men of that quallity and degree. The King likewiſe created the Counteſſe of Norfolke, Dutcheſſe of Norfolke: the Earle of Sommerſet, Marqueſſe of Sommerſet: the Lorde Spencer, Earle of Glouceſter: the Lorde Neuill, Earle of Weſtmerland: the Lord Scroupe, Earle of Wiltſhire: and the Lorde Thomas Darcy his ſteward, Earle of Worceſter. Among theſe; he made diuiſion of a great part of the landes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: ſuppoſing by this double liberalitie of honour and poſſeſſions, to haue purchaſed to himſelfe moſt firme friendſhips: but bought friends, for the moſt parte, are ſeldome eyther ſatisfied or ſure: and like certaine Rauens, in Arabia, ſo long as they are full, doe yeeld a pleaſant voyce: but being emptie, doe make a horrible cry.

Now the Duke of Hereforde rayſed his deſires, together with his dignities, and eyther vpon diſdaine, at the vndeſerued fauour and aduancement of ſome perſons about the King: or vpon diſlike, that the King was ſo diſhonourably both abuſed and abaſed by them: or elſe (perhappes) vppon deſire, to manifeſt his owne ſufficiencie in matters of controulement and direction: being in familiar diſcourſe with *Thomas Mowbraye* Duke of Norfolke, hee brake into complaint, how the King regarded not the noble Princes of his Bloud, and Peeres of the Realme, and by extremities vſed to ſome, diſcouraged the reſt from entermedling in any publique

publike affaires: how in ſtead of theſe, hee was wholly gouerned by certaine new-found and new-fangled fauourites, vulgar in birth, corrupt in qualities, hauing no ſufficiencie eyther of councell for peace, or of courage for warre; who being of all men the moſt vnhoneſt, and the moſt vnable, with hatefulneſſe of the one, and contempt of the other, were generally deſpiſed in all the Realme: that hereby, Firſt the honour of the Kings perſon was much blemiſhed; for vngrate and vngratious adherents are alway the way to hatred and contempt: Secondly, the ſafety of his ſtate might bee endaungered; for extraordinary fauour to men apparently of weake or bad deſert, doth breede inſolencie in them, and diſcontentment in others, two daungerous humours in a common-wealth: Thirdly, the dignity of the Realme was much empaired: whoſe fortune and valour being guided by the ill chance of ſuch vnluckie leaders, ſtood neuer in the like termes of doubt and diſtreſſe; ſo that matters of peace were tumultuous and vncertaine, and atchiuements of warre were neuer brought to honourable concluſion: that *Alexander Seuerus* would haue ſmoaked ſuch ſellers of ſmoake; that *Xerxes* would haue pulled their skin ouer their eares; and high time it was, that the King ſhould looke vnto them: for the Nobility grew out of heart, the Commons out of hope, and all the people fell to a diſcontented murmuring. And this he ſaid (as he ſaid) not for any grudge, but for griefe and good will: and therefore deſired the Duke, who was one of the priuy Councell, and well heard with the King, to diſcouer vnto him theſe deformities and daungers, that by repayring the one, hee might happily repell the other.

Theſe wordes procured to the Duke of Hereford both great offence, and great glorye: at the deliuerie whereof, the Duke of Norfolke made ſhewe of good liking, and promiſe of ſincere dealing. And indeede, if they had bin as faithfully reported by him, and by the King as friendlie

taken, as they were faithfully and friendly meant, many miſchiefes might haue beene auoyded: but both of theſe did faile: for the Duke of Norfolke although in former times hee had taken part with the Lordes, yet afterwards, being deſirous to be accounted rather among the great men, then the good, he made ſale of his honour, to maintaine his pleaſure, and continue himſelfe in grace with the King; to which hee was altogether inthralled: inſomuch, that the murthering of the Duke of Glouceſter, and the execution of the Earle of Arundell, was to his charge eſpecially committed: and ſuppoſing vpon this occaſion to make a free hold of his Princes fauour, hee grieuouſly aggrauated theſe ſpeeches in reporting them, and yet cunningly too: with many lyes intermixing ſome truthes, or making the truth much more then it was. Againe, the King not enduring the ſcarch of his ſoares, did bend his minde rather to puniſh the boldneſſe, then examine the truth of theſe reproofes: his eares being ſo diſtempered with continuance of flatterie, that hee accompted all ſharpe that was ſound, and liked onely that which was preſently pleaſant, and afterwards hurtfull. Thus we may daily obſerue, that no ſtrange accident doth at any time happen, but it is by ſome meanes foreſhewed, or foretould: but becauſe theſe warnings are often-times eyther not marked, or miſconſtrued, or elſe contemned, the euents are accompted ineuitable, and the admonitions vaine.

The King being in this ſort touched by the one Duke, and tickled by the other, was not reſolued vpon the ſuddaine, what to doe: therefore he aſſembled his Councell and called the two Dukes before him, and demaunded of the Duke of Norfolke, if hee would openly auouch that which hee had ſuggeſted in ſecret. The Duke ſeeing it was now no time for him, either to ſhrinke or ſhuffle in his tale, with a bold and confident courage repeated all that before hee had reported. But the Duke of Hereforde could not bee borne downe by countenance, where his cauſe was good:

and

and therefore after a ſhort ſilence, whereby hee ſeemed rather amazed at the ſtrangeneſſe of this matter, then abaſhed at the guilt, he made low obeyſance to the King, and greatly both thanked and commended him, that hee had not giuen haſtie credite to matters of ſuch tender touch, as his griefe might haue borne out the blame of raſhneſſe in reuenge; deſiring him to continue yet awhile, the reſpite of his diſpleaſure, and to reſerue his iudgement free for indifferent audience. Then he declared in order, what ſpeech had paſſed from him, vpon what occaſion, and to what end: all the reſt hee ſtoutly denyed, affirming, that it was falſely furniſed by his aduerſary, eyther vpon malice to picke a quarrell; or vpon ſycophancie to picke a thanke, and that thereupon hee was vntrue, vniuſt, a forger of ſlaunderous and ſeditious lyes, whereby he treacherouſly indeuoured to ſeduce the King to deſtroy the Nobility, and to raiſe diſturbance within the realme: and this he offered to proue vpon him (if the King would permit) by the ſtroake of a ſpeare and by dint of ſword. The Duke of Norfolks ſtomacke not vſed to beare ſcorne, could not diſgeſt theſe tearmes of diſgrace: whereupon hee ſtiffely ſtood to his firſt imputation: and for maintenance thereof, hee accepted, and alſo deſired the combat. The King would ſome other wayes haue quieted this contention, but the Dukes would agree to no other kinde of agreement: and thereupon threwe downe their gloues one againſt the other for gages. The King ſeeing their obſtinacie, graunted them the battaile, and aſſigned the place at the City of Couentrie, in the moneth of Auguſt then next inſuing: where in the meane time, hee cauſed a ſumptuous Theater, and Liſts royall to be prepared.

At the day of combat, the two Dukes came, well handed with Noblemen and Gentlemen of their linage. The Duke of Aumerle for that day high Conſtable, and the Duke of Surrey for the ſame time and action, high Marſhall of England, entred into the Liſts, with a great troupe of men apparelled in

ſilke ſondale, embroydered with ſiluer, euery man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to keepe the fielde in order. About the time of prime, the Duke of Hereford came to the Barriers of the liſts mounted vpon a white courſer, barbed with blew & greene veluet, embroydered gorgeouſly with Swans and Antilops of Gold-ſmiths worke, armed at all poynts, & his ſword drawn in his hand. The Conſtable and Marſhall came to the barriers, and demaunded of him, who he was? He anſwered: I am. *Henry* Duke of Hereford, and am come to do my deuoire againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, as a traytour to God, the King, the Realme, and me. Then hee ſware vpon the Euangeliſts, that his quarrell was right, & vpon that point deſired to enter the liſts, then hee put vp his ſword, pulled downe his beauier, made a croſſe on his fore-head, and with ſpeare in hand, entred into the Liſts, and there lighted from his horſe, and ſate downe in a chayre of greene veluet, which was ſet in a trauerſe of greene and blew veluet at the one end of the liſtes: and ſo expected the comming of his enemy: ſoone after King *Richard* entred the fielde with great pompe both in brauery and traine: he had in his company, the Earle of S. *Paule*, who came purpoſely out of Fraunce to ſee this combate tryed; hee was attended with all the noble Peeres of the Realme, and guarded with tenne thouſand men in armes, for feare of any ſuddaine or intended tumult.

When he was placed on his ſtage, which was very curiouſly and richly ſet forth, a King at armes made proclamation in the name of the King, and of the high Conſtable, and of the Marſhall, that no man, except ſuch as were appointed to order and marſhall the fielde, ſhould touch any part of the liſtes, vpon paine of death. This proclamation being ended, another Herald cryed: Behold here, *Henry* of Lancaſter Duke of Hereford, appellant, who is entred into the liſtes royall, to doe his deuoire, againſt *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to bee accompted falſe and recreant. The Duke of Norfolke was houering on horſebacke

horſebacke at the entry of the liſtes, his horſe being barbed with crimſon veluet, embroadered richly with lyons of ſiluer; and mulberie trees: and when he had made his oath, before the Conſtable and Marſhall, that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the fielde boldly, crying aloud, God ayde him that hath the right: then he lighted from his horſe and ſatte downe in a chaire of Crimſon veluet, curtained aboute with red and white Damaske, and placed at the other ende of the liſtes. The Lord Marſhall viewed both their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall length: the one ſpeare he caried himſelfe to the Duke of Hereford, and ſent the other to the Duke of Norfolke by a Knight. This done a Herrald proclaymed, that the trauerſes and chayres of the combattants ſhould bee remoued, commaunding them in the Kings name, to mount on horſebacke, and addreſſe themſelues to the encounter, the Dukes were quickly horſed, and cloſed their beauieres, and caſt their ſpeares into the reſts. Then the trumpets ſounded, and the Duke of Hereforde ſet forth towards his enemy, about ſixe or ſeauen paces; but before the Duke of Norfolke began to put forwarde, the King caſt downe his warder, and the Herralds cried ho: then the King cauſed the Dukes ſpeares to bee taken from them, and commaunded them to forſake their horſes, and returne againe to their chaires: where they remained aboue two long houres, whilſt the King deliberated with his councell what was fitteſt to be done. At laſt, the Herralds cryed ſilence: and Sir *Iohn Borcy* a Secretarie of ſtate, with a loude voyce, read the ſentence and determination of the King and his Councell out of a long roule: wherein was contained, that *Henrie* of Lancaſter Duke of Hereforde, appellant, and *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of Norfolke, defendant, had honourably appeared that day within the liſts royall, and declared themſelues valiant and hardy champions; being not onely ready, but forward and deſirous to darre in the battell: but becauſe this was a matter of great conſequence and import, the King with

the aduice of his Councell, thought it meet to take the ſame into his owne hands: and therevpon had decreed, that *Henrie* Duke of Hereford, becauſe he had diſpleaſed the King, and for diuers other conſiderations, ſhould within 15 dayes next following, depart out of the Realme, and not to returne during the terme of ten yeares, without the Kings eſpeciall licence, vpon paine of death.

When this iudgement was heard, a confuſed noyſe was rayſed among the people, ſome lamenting either the deſert, or the iniurie of the Duke of Hereford, whom they exceedingly fauored: others laughing at the conceit of the King: firſt in cauſing, and afterwardes in fruſtrating ſo great an expectation: wherein he ſeemed to doe not much vnlike *Caligula*; who lying in Fraunce with a great armie neere the ſea ſhoare, gaue the ſigne of battell, ſet his men in array, marched foorth as if it had beene to ſome great piece of ſeruice and ſuddenly commanded them all to gather cockles.

Then the Herralds cryed againe, ô Yes: and the Secretarie did reade on, how the King had likewiſe ordayned, that *Thomas Moubraie* Duke of Norfolke, becauſe hee had ſowen ſedition, by words whereof he could make no proofe ſhould auoide the Realme of England, and neuer returne againe, vpon paine of death: and that the King would take the profits and reuenues of his lands, vntill he had receiued ſuch ſummes of money as the Duke had taken vp, for wages of the garriſon of Calice, which was ſtill vnpaide: and that the King prohibited, vpon paine of his grieuous diſpleaſure, that any man ſhould make ſuit or intreatie to him, on the behalfe of either of theſe two Dukes.

Theſe ſentences being in this ſort pronounced, the King called the two exiles before him, and tooke of them an oath, That they ſhould not conuerſe together in forraine Regions, nor one willingly come in place where the other was: fearing (as it was like) leaſt their common diſcontentment ſhould draw them, firſt to reconcilement, and afterward to

reuenge.

reuenge. But this policie was ouer weake for this purpoſe: for oathes are commonly ſpurned aſide, when they lye in the way, either to honour or reuenge: and if their vnited forces was much to be regarded, their ſeperate powers was not altogether to be contemned. Therefore the latter princes of this realme, haue with more ſafety wholly aboliſhed the vſe of abiuration and exile: and doe either by death extinguiſh the power, or by pardon alter the will of great offenders, from entring into deſperate and dangerous attempts; which men in miſerie and diſgrace, haue more vehemencie to begin, and more obſtinacie to continue. When the Samnites had once ſo encloſed the Romaine legions within certaine ſtreights, that they left them neither ſpace to fight, nor way to flie: but without force enforced them to yeelde: they ſent to *Herennius Pontius*, an aged ruler of their ſtate, for his aduiſe, what were beſt for them to doe: his anſwer was, that the Romaines ſhould be permitted to depart, without any hurt, loſſe or ſcorne. This pleaſed not ſuch as were either couetous for ſpoyle, or cruell for bloud: and therefore they ſent vnto him the ſecond time: who then returned anſwere, that the Romanes ſhould bee put to the ſworde, and not one man ſuffered to eſcape. The contrarietie of theſe two counſailes, brought the old man into ſuſpition of dotage: but he comming in perſon to the campe, maintained both to bee good: the firſt whereof (which he thought beſt) would by vnexpected fauour, prouoke the Romanes to a perpetuall friendſhip: the ſecond would deferre the warres for many yeares, wherein the enemies ſhould hardly recouer ſtrength: third counſaile there was none that ſafely might be followed. Yes (ſaid the Samnites) to grant them their liues, yet with ſuch conditions of ſpoyle and ſhame as the lawes of victory doe lay vpon them. This is the way (anſwered *Herennius*) which neither winneth friends, nor weakeneth enemies: but will much encreaſe the fury againſt vs, & nothing diminiſh the force. And euen

ſo, in matters of more particularity, that courſe of puniſhment is out of courſe, which doth neither reclaime the mind of men, nor reſtraine the might from miſchieuous endeuours. But againe to our purpoſe.

The Duke of Norfolke, hauing now got a fall, where he thought to take his reſt, repented his enterpriſe, and vtterly condemned his light conceite of the Kings lightneſſe, and ſo with extreame griefe and anguiſh of minde, he departed out of the Realme into Almaine, and from thence trauelled to Venice; where through violence of thought and diſcontentment, in ſhort time he ended his dayes. This ſentence of baniſhment was giuen againſt him the ſame day of the yeere wherein the Duke of Glouceſter by his wicked meanes was ſtrangled to death at Calice.

The Duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the King at Eltham, who there ſtroke away foure yeers of his baniſhment, & euen offred himſelfe to be fawned vpon & thanked, for ſo odious a benefit. And this infortunate aduenture he neither bare out vainglorioufly, nor yet tooke impatiently: but in the midſt of his miſery, retained ſtill his reputation and honour; ſhewing no ſigne of ſorrow or ſubmiſnes in his countenance, nor letting fall any intemperate and vnſeemely word. The people as he departed, by heaps flocked about him, ſome to ſee, and ſome to ſalute him: lamenting his departure in ſuch ſort, as though their onely light and delight did then forſake them: not ſparing to exclaime, that it was againſt the law of crmes, againſt the cuſtome of the Realme, and againſt all right whatſoeuer, that he ſhould be exiled, who had done his honourable endeauour for the maintenance of his appeale. This affection was the more exceſſiue, for that the duke was driuen into exile by occaſion of his liberall ſpeeches againſt the moſt hatefull perſons in all the Realme: & being the only noble man then aliue, of the popular faction, the loue was wholly accumulated vpon him, which was bef re deuided among the reſt. And thus the Duke leauing England, tooke

ſhipping

ſhipping, and paſſed the Seas to Calice, & from thence went into Fraunce: where hee was honourably entertained by *Charles* the French King, and found ſuch fauour, that hee ſhould haue taken to wife the onely daughter of *Iohn* Duke Berrie, vnckle to the King of Fraunce, but King *Richarde*, fearing the ſequel, if the fauor which was borne to the Duke of Hereford within the Realme, ſhould be ſtrengthned with ſo great affinity in Fraunce, caſt ſuch ſtops in the way, that the marriage did not proceede.

This yeare the Lawrell trees withered, almoſt throughout the Realme, and afterwardes againſt all expectation, recouered life and flouriſhed againe. The ſame yeare in Chriſtmaſſe holy-dayes a deepe riuer which runneth betweene Snedliſtorie and Hareſwood, neere to Bedford, ſuddainely ſtayed the ſtreame: ſo that for three miles in length, the channell was left drie, and no courſe of water did hinder paſſage on foot. This was afterwards interpreted to preſage, the reuolt of the people, & the diuiſion which happened the yeare following: to theſe we may adde certaine other prodegies, either forged in that fabulous age, or happening commonly and of courſe, are then onely noted, when any notable accident doth enſue. When K. *Richard* brought his firſt wife out of Beame, ſhe had no ſooner ſet foote within this land, but ſuch a tempeſt did forthwith ariſe, as had not been ſeene many yeares before: whereby diuers ſhips within the hauen were quaſhed to pieces, but eſpecially, and firſt of all, the ſhip wherein the Queene was carried, this was the rather obſerued, becauſe ſuch ſtiffe ſtormes were likewiſe ſtirring, when the King brought his ſecond wife out of France: wherin many ſhips periſhed, & a great part of the Kings fardage was loſt. At Newcaſtle vpon Tine, as two ſhipwrights were ſquaring a piece of Timber, whereſoeuer they hewed, bloud iſſued forth in great abundance. At one of the Kings palaces, flies ſwarmed ſo thicke, that they obſcured the ayre: theſe fought together moſt fiercely, ſo that ſackfuls lay dead

vpon the ground, and this continued ſo long, that ſcarce the third part of them (as it was thought) remained aliue, many like accidents are recorded of that time; but I will maintaine neither the truth of them, nor what they did pretend: being a matter wherein moſt men are rather ſuperſtitious, then not credulous, and doe oftentimes repute common occurrences to be ominous, when any ſtrange euent doth enſue. Yet as I am loath to aucuch any vaine and trifling matter, ſo dare I not detract all truth from things anciently reported; although done in an age wherein was ſome delight in lying, many doe ſuppoſe, that thoſe things which are fatally allotted, though they neuer be auoyded, yet ſometimes are foreſhewen: not ſo much that we may preuent them, as that we ſhould prepare our ſelues againſt them.

In the two and twenty yeare of the raigne of K. *Richard*, *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter dyed, and was buried, on the north-ſide of the high altar, of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London, hee was a man aduiſed and warie in his paſſages of life, liking better ſafe courſes with reaſon, then happy by chaunce: of his owne glory, he was neither negligent, nor ambitiouſly carefull: towards the King hee carried himſelfe in termes honourable enough for a moderate Prince, and yet not ſo plauſible as a vaine man would deſire; whereby there neuer happened to him any extraordinary matter, either in preiudice or preferment. After his death, the Duchy of Lancaſter did in right deuolue to the Duke of Hereford, his eldeſt ſon: but the King (as the nature of man is inclinable, to hate thoſe whom hee hath harmed) ſeazed all the landes and goods which appertained to the Duke of Lancaſter, into his owne handes and determined to perpetuate the baniſhment of Duke *Henry* his ſonne: reuoking the letters patents, which were graunted to him at his departure: whereby his generall Attorneis were enabled to proſecute his cauſes, and ſue liuerie of any inheritance: which during his exile, might fall vnto him, his homage being reſpited for a reaſo-

a reaſonable fine. The King ſuppoſed his eſtate more ſafe, by the weakeneſſe and want of the Duke, whome hee had now in ſome iealouſie and doubte: but theſe violent dealings were meanes rather to prouoke his miſchiefes, then to preuent them; for by iniurious ſuppreſſing of the Dukes greatneſſe, he greatly augmented the ſame.

Edmund Duke of Yorke, the Kings only vnckle which remained aliue, had hitherto enforced his patience, to endure many things againſt his liking: but nowe either in diſdaine of this indignity, or in diſtruſt both of his owne ſafety & of the common tranquillity of the realme, hee retired himſelfe with the Duke of Aumerle his ſon, to his houſe at Langley: ſuppoſing priuateneſſe to be the beſt defence, both from danger and blame, where neither the King had iudgement to diſcerne, nor any about him had, either heart or honeſty to admoniſh what was done amiſſe; where an honourable fame was held ſuſpected, and a good life more in hazard then a bad: proteſting that none of theſe practiſes, were either deuiſed by his counſaile, or done by his conſent.

At this time, the whole frame of the ſtate was much ſhaken, and matters of great weight and moment did hang by a very ſlender thred. The King was plunged in pleaſure and ſloath: after whoſe example, others alſo (as men doe commonly conforme their mindes according to the Princes diſpoſition) gaue ouer themſelues to delicacie and eaſe: whereby cowardiſe crept in, and ſhipwracke was made, both of manhood and glory. The chiefeſt affaires of ſtate had been ordered for a long time, according to priuate reſpects, whereby the common-wealth loſt both the fatte and the fauour, and ſeemed not at ſeaſons and by degrees, but with a maine courſe, and at once to ruinate, and fall. The north parts were many times canuaſed, and by ſmall, yet often loſſes, almoſt conſumed by the Scots: who had there taken many townes and caſtles, and defaced all the countrey with ſlaughter and ſpoile. Likewiſe the ſouth partes were often-times waſted

by the Frenchmen: and in Fraunce many ſtrong holds were loſt. It was alſo conſtantly affirmed, that the King made agreement to deliuer vnto the King of Fraunce, the poſſeſſion of Calice, and of other townes which hee helde in thoſe parts; but the performance thereof was reſiſted by the lords: whether this were true or ſurmiſed probably, as agreeable to the Kings looſe gouernment, I cannot certainely affirme. As for Ireland, which in time of K. *Edward* the third was kept in order and awe, by acquainting the people with religion and ciuility, and drawing them to delight in the plenty and pleaſures of well reclaimed countries; whereby it yeelded to the Kings coffers thirty thouſand pounds euery yeare: it was then ſuffered to runne into waſte, and the people by rudeneſſe became intractible: ſo that the houlding thereof charged the King, with the yearely diſpence of thirty thouſand markes. Many ſuccours had beene ſent into theſe ſeuerall countries; but ſcatteringly, and dropping, and neuer ſo many at once, as to furniſh the warres fully. The King made ſome expeditions in his owne perſon, with greate preparation and charge: but beeing once out of credite, whatſoeuer fell out well, was attributed to others; misfortunes were imputed onely to him. If any thing were happily atchieued, by ſome of the nobility, it was by the Kings baſe hearted paraſites, to whom military vertue was altogether vnpleaſant, ſo extenuated, or depraued, or enuied, that it was ſeldome rewarded, ſo much as with countenance and thankes: yea ſometimes it procured ſuſpicion and danger, the King being informed by a cunning kinde of enemies, commenders, that to be a diſcreet and valiant commander in the fielde, was a vertue peculiar to a Prince; and that it was a perilous point, to haue the name of a man of priuate eſtate, famous for the ſame in euery mans mouth. Hereupon, fewe ſought to riſe by vertue and valour, the readier way was, to pleaſe the pleaſant humour of the Prince. Likewiſe matters of peace, were managed by men of weakeſt ſufficiencie, by whoſe counſell

either

either ignorant or corrupt, the deſtruction of the beſt harted nobility, was many times attempted, and at the laſt wrought. The profits and reuenues of the crowne were ſaid to bee let to farme, the King making himſelfe Landlord of his realme, and challenging no great priuiledge by his raigne, but onely a diſſolute and vncontrouled life. Great ſummes of money were yearely rather exacted from the ſubiects, then by them voluntarily graunted: whereof no good did enſue, but the maintenance of the Kings priuate delights, and the aduancement of his hatefull fauorites. To theſe he was ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: for which cauſe, he was faine to borrow, begge, and extort in other places: but he purchaſed not ſo much loue by the one, as hate by the other. Beſides the ordinary tearmes of tenthes and fifteenths, which were many times paid double in one yeare, diuers new impoſitions were by him deuiſed & put in vſe: ſomtimes exacting xii.d. of euery perſon throughout the realme: ſometimes of euery religious man and woman vi. s. viii. d. and of euery ſecular Prieſt as much, and of euery lay perſon married or ſole, xii.d. Vnder the fauourable tearme of beneuolence, hee wiped away from the people ſuch heaps of money, as were little anſwerable to that free and friendly name. He borrowed in all places of the realme great ſummes of money vpon his priuy ſeales, ſo that no man of worth cold eſcape his loane: but he ſeldome, and to few, returned payment againe.

This preſent yeare, he ſent certaine Biſhops, and other perſonages of honor, to all the ſhires and corporations within the realme, to declare vnto the people the Kings heauie diſpleaſures againſt them, for that they had bin abetters and complices of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke: and that the King was minded to make a roade vpon them, as common enemies, excepte they would acknowledge their offence, and ſubmit themſelues to his mercy and grace. Herevpon, all the men of worth in euery ſhire and ſowne corporate, made their ac-

knowledgment & ſubmiſſion in writing vnder their ſeales: and afterwardes were faine to graunt vnto the King, ſuch importable ſummes of money, to purchaſe againe his fauour, as the land being already greatly impoueriſhed, they were hardly able to endure. Then were exacted of thē ſtrange & vnaccuſtomed oathes, which were put likewiſe in writing, vnder their ſeale. They were alſo cōpelled to ſet their hands and ſeales to blancke chartes; wherein the King might afterwardes cauſe to be written what he would: ſo that all the wealth of the realme was in a manner at his deuotion and pleaſure. Theſe and ſuch like violences, were far wide from the moderate gouernment of King *Henrie* the ſecond: who maintaining great warres, and obteyning a larger dominion, then perteyned at any other time to this realme of England, neuer demaunded ſubſidie of his ſubiects: and yet his treaſure after his death, was founde to be nine hundred thouſand pounds, beſides his Iewels, and his plate.

In this ſort the King bearing a heauie hand vpon his ſubiects, and they againe a heauie heart againſt him, and being withall a Prince weake in action, and not of valure ſufficient to beare out his vices by might, the people at length reſolued to reuolt, and rather to runne into the hazard of a ruinous rebellion, then to endure ſafetie ioyned with ſlauerie: ſo they attended occaſion, which ſhortly after was thus offered. The King receiued letters of aduertiſement out of Ireland (which being priuiledged from other venimous beaſts, hath alwayes beene peſtered with traytors) how the Barbarous Iriſh had cut in pieces his Garriſon, and ſlaine *Roger Mortimer* Earle of March, (who had beene declared heyre apparent to the Crowne) exerciſing all the crueltie in waſting of the country, which wrath and rage of victorie could incite a Barbarous people to practiſe. This loſſe being great in it ſelfe, the hard affection of the people did much augment by report: whereupon the King deliberated, wether it were requiſite that hee ſhould vndertake the warre in perſon, or commit

commit it to cõmanders of lower degree? Some perſwaded him, that wholy to ſubdue Ireland, ſtood neither with pollicie, nor yet almoſt with poſſibility: for if it were fully and quietly poſſeſſed, ſome gouernour might hap to growe to that greatneſſe, as to make himſelfe abſolute Lord thereof; and therefore it was better to hold it certaine by weake enemies, then ſuſpected by mighty friends, and yet by what meanes ſhould thoſe bogges and thoſe woods be ouercome, which are more impregnable, then the walled Townes of other countries? then if the purpoſe were, onely to repreſſe the ſauage people, the war was of no ſuch weight, as ſhould draw the King to ſtand in the field: and therefore he might ſtay in the Weſt partes in England, and from thence make ſhew of the Princely puiſſance and ſtate; neither venturing his perſon without cauſe, and already at hand if need ſhould require. Others were of opinion, that to ſubdue and repleniſh Ireland, was a matter neither of difficultie nor daunger: but both profitable and honourable to the King, and to God very acceptable. For if credit might be giuen to auncient hiſtories, this realme of England was once as inſuperable with bogs and woods, as Ireland was then: but the Romane conquerers kept not their preſidiarie Souldiers in idle garriſon, whereby many times the minde grew mutinous, and the body diſeaſed, and both vnable for the labour and hardneſſe of the field: but they held as well them, as the ſubdued Britaines continually exerciſed, either in building of townes in places of beſt aduãtage; or in making of high waies: or elſe in drayning and pauing of bogs: by which meanes the countrie was made fruitfull and habitable, and the people learned the good maners, not rudely to repulſe the flattering aſſaults of pleaſure; preferring ſubiection with plentie, before beggerly and miſerable liberty. That the ſame Romaines alſo kept many larger Countries in quiet obedience, (ſo long as they were quiet among themſelues) without either feare or danger of any gouernours; firſt by deuiding them into ſmall

prouinces: Secondly by constituting in euery prouince diuers officers, as Lieutenants and procurators, whereof one was able to restraine the other; the first hauing power ouer the bodies of the subiects, the second ouer their goods: thirdly, by changing these officers euery yeare; which was too short a time to establish a soueraignty: Lastly, by retaining at Rome, their wiues and children, and whole priuate estate, as pledges for their true demeanure. That the daunger was rather to be feared, least a weake enemie whilest hee was contemned, should gather strength and bee able to stand vpon termes of withstanding: example hereof happened whē the Romaines ouercame this Iland: for many Britaines who vpon no cōditions would abide bōdage, withdrew thēselues into the North parts of the land, & by maintaining their ancient custome of painting their bodies, were called of the Romaines, *Picti*: these were neglected a long time, and held in scorne, as neither of force, nor of number to bee thought worthy the name of enemies: but afterwardes they confederated themselues with other people, and so sharply assaulted the subdued Britaines, that being vnable to resist, and the Romanes shrinking from them, they were constrained to desire helpe of the Saxons: and so betweene their enemies and their aides (being set as it were betwixt the beetle and the blocke) they lost the possession of the best part of their land. That it was a pittifull pollicy for assurance of peace, to laye all waste as a wildernes, and to haue dominion ouer trees and beastes, and not ouer men. That hereby the King did loose the reuenue of a fruitfull country, & the benefit of wealthy subiects, which are the surest treasure that a Prince can haue. That hereby also the maiestie of his estate was much impaired: for (as *Salomon* saith) *The honor of a king cōsisteth in the multitude of subiectes*. That the Country being vnfurnished of people, was open to all opportunity of forrain enemies. That if none of these respects would moue: yet the King was bounde in duty to reduce those sauages to the true worshippe of God,

who

who did then either prophanely contemne him, or ſuperſtitiouſly ſerue him.

Theſe reaſons ſo weighed with the King, that he gathered a mighty army, determining to goe in perſon into Ireland, & to pacifie the country before his returne: but all his prouiſion was at the charge of the ſubiects: and whereas in time of ſedition, a wiſe Prince will leaſt grieue his people; as ſeeming to ſtand in ſome ſort at their courteſie, & hauing to imploy theyr bodies beſide; the King in peace no ſtorer for warre, was forced to offend, when he ſhould haue been moſt carefull to winne fauour. So about Whitſontide, he ſet forth on his voyage with many men, and few ſouldiours; being a diſſolute and vntrayned company, and out of all compaſſe of obedience, he carried with him his whole treaſure, and all the goods and auncient Iewells appertaining to the Crowne. In his company went the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceter, and diuerſe other noble men, and many Biſhops, and the Abbot of Weſtminſter. He alſo tooke with him the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Hereford; whoſe fauourers he chiefely feared.

When hee came to Briſtowe, hee was put into ſuſpicion, (whether vpon ſome likelyhood, or meere malice) that *Henry Percy* Earle of Northumberland and certaine others, entended ſome diſloyall enterpriſe againſt him: and for that cauſe did not follow him into Ireland, but had faſtned friendſhip with the King of Scots, vpon purpoſe to retire thēſelues into his country, if their attempts ſhould faile. Hereupon the king ſent meſſage that the earle ſhould forthwith come vnto him with all the power that hee could conueniently make. The Earle returned anſwere, that it was vnneceſſary in reſpect of that ſeruice, to draw men from ſuch diſtant places; for the Iriſh rebells were neither ſo many nor ſo mighty, but the King had ſtrength at hand ſufficient to ſuppreſſe them: that it was alſo dangerous to diſfurniſh the North-parts of their forces, and to offer opportunity to the Scottiſh borderers,

rers, who were alwayes vncertaine friends in their extremities, and assured enemies vpon aduantage. The King seeing his commandement in these termes both contemned and controulled, would not stand to reason the matter with the Earle, neither had he the reason to defer reuenge vntill hee had full power to worke it: but presently in the violence of his fury, caused the Earle and his confederates to be proclaimed traitors, and all their Lands and goods to be seized to his vse. The Earle tooke grieuously this disgrace, and determined to cure & close vp this harme with the disturbance of the common state. And thus the King hauing feathered these arrowes against his owne brest, passed foorth in his iourney into Ireland.

This expedition at the first proceeded and succeeded exceedingly well, and the King obtained many victories, euen without battell, as leading his men to a slaughter rather then to a fight: for the sauage Irish were not vnder one gouernement, but were diuided into many partialities and factions, and seldome did two or three parts ioyne their common strength and study together: so whilest one by one did fight, all of them were eyther subdued or slaine. But these newes little reioyced the common people, they lusted not to listen thereto: their common talke was to recount their common grieuances, to lay them together, and aggrauate them by construction: euery man more abounding in complaints then he did in miseries. Also the noble men (the principall obiect of cruelty) began to discourse both their priuate dangers, & the deformities of the state: and vpon opportunity of the Kings absence, some of them did conspire to cut off that authority which would not be confined, & to cast it vpon some other, who was most like to repaire that which K. *Richard* had ruined: or if (said they) our power shall come short of so good a purpose, yet wil we sell him both our liues & lands with glory in the field, which with certainty in peace we cannot inioy: The onely man vpon whom all men resolued, was

I'

Henry duke of Hereford (whom ſince the death of his father they called Duke of Lancaſter) not at his own motion or deſire, but becauſe he was generally eſteemed meet: as being of the royall bloud and next by deſcent frō males to the ſucceſſion of the crowne: one that had made honourable proofe of his vertues and valour: the onely man of note that remained aliue, of thoſe that before had ſtood in armes againſt the King for the behoofe of the Common-wealth: for which cauſe he was deepely touched at that time both in honour & in ſtate. This attempt pleaſed as poſſible to proue, and of neceſſity to be followed: wherevpon they ſecretly diſpatched their letters to the Duke, ſolliciting his ſpeedy returne into England, & declaring that aſwell for the benefit of the realm, as for their owne particular ſafety, they were forced to vſe force againſt King *Richard*: that if it would pleaſe him to make the head, they would furniſh him the body of an able army, to expell the King from his vnfortunate gouernment, and to ſettle the poſſeſſion of the Crowne in him, who was more apt and able to ſuſtaine the ſame: that they would not prouide him a baſe multitude onely, & they themſelues helpe in bare wiſhes and aduiſe, but would alſo adioyne their hands and their liues ſo that the peril ſhould be common to all, the glory only his, if fortune fauored the enterpriſe. Theſe letters were conueyed by men crafty and bolde, yet of ſure credit, and inward in truſt with the Duke: who paſſing into France, firſt aſſociated vnto them, *Thomas Arundell* late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & at that time (whether deſeruedly or without cauſe) an exile in France: then they trauelled by ſeuerall wayes, and in counterfeit attire to Paris, where all met at the houſe of one Clugney, where the Duke thē ſoiourned. After ſome courteſies of courſe, with welcome on the one ſide, & thankes on the other, and ioy of both: the Archbiſhop of Canterbury hauing obtained of the Duke princie and ſilence, made vnto him a ſolemne oration in theſe words, or to this ſenſe following.

We are ſent vnto you (right high and noble Prince) from the chiefe Lords and ſtates of our Land, not to ſeeke reuenge againſt our King vpon private iniury and diſpleaſure: nor vpon a deſperate diſcontentment to ſet the ſtate on fire: nor to procure the ambitious aduancement of any particular perſon: but to open vnto you the deformities and decayes of our broken eſtate, and to deſire your ayde, in ſtaying the ruinous downfall of the ſame. The remembrance of the honourable reputation that our countrey hath borne, and the noble actes which it hath atchiued, doth nothing els, but make the baſenes more bitter vnto vs, whereinto it is new fallen. Our victorious armes haue heretofore been famous and memorable, not onely within the bounds of our Ocean ſea, and in the Ilands adioyning vnto vs; but alſo in France, in Spaine, and in other parts of Europe, yea in Aſia and in Affricke, againſt the Infidels and Barbarians: ſo that all Chriſtian Princes haue been either glad to imbrace our friendſhip, or loath to prouoke vs to hoſtility. But nowe the rude Scots, whoſe ſpirits we haue ſo many times broken, and brought on their knees, doe ſcornefully inſult vpon vs: the naked and fugitiue Iriſh, haue ſhaked off our ſhackles, and glutted themſelues vppon vs, with maſſacres & ſpoyles: with theſe we daily fight, not for glory, but to liue: inſomuch as we are become a pitty to our friends, and a very ieaſt to our moſt baſe and contemptible enemies. Indeed the King hath both ſent and led great armies into theſe countries, but in ſuch ſort, that they haue much waſted the realme with their maintenance: but neither reuenged nor relieued it with their armes: and no meruaile, for all our diligent and diſcreete leaders (the very ſinewes of the field) are either put to death, or baniſhed, or els lie buried in obſcurity and diſgrace: and the marſhalling of all affaires is committed (without any reſpect of ſufficiencie or deſert) to the counſaile and conduct of thoſe, who can beſt apply themſelues to the Kings youthfull delights. Among theſe, auncient nobility is accompted a vaine ieaſt, wealth,

and

and vertue are the ready meanes to bring to deſtruction.

It grieues me to ſpeake, but it helpeth not, to hide that which euery man ſeeth: our auncеſtours liued in the higheſt pitch and perfection of libertie; but we of ſeruilitie, being in the nature not of ſubiectes, but of abiectes, and flat ſlaues; not to one intractable Prince onely, but to many proud and diſdainefull fauorites; not alwayes the ſame, but euer new: & no ſooner haue we ſatisfied ſome, but freſh hungrie maſters are ſtreightwayes ſet vpon vs, who haue more endamaged vs by extortion & bribes, then the enemie hath done by the ſword. What vnuſuall kindes of exactions are dayly put in practiſe? without either meſure or end, and oftentimes without need; or if any be, it proceedeth rather vpon riotous expenſes, then any neceſſity of honourable charge: and great ſummes of money are pulled and pilled from good ſubiectes, to be throwne away amongſt vnprofitable vnthrifts. And if any man openeth his mouth againſt theſe extorted taxations, then either by feined imputatiõ of capitall crimes, or by ſmall matters aggrauated, or elſe by open crueltie and force, his life or liberty is forthwith hazarded. It were too tedious, too odious, too friuolous to put you in mind of particular examples as though your owne eſtate, and the lamentable loſſe of your vncle, & other noble friends, could be forgotten: yea I ſuppoſe that there is no man of qualitie within the Realme, who either in his owne perſon, or in his neereſt friends, doth not plainely perceiue, that no man enioyeth the ſafegard of his goods, and ſuertie of his body; but rich men in the one, & great men in the other are continually endaungered. This then is our caſe; but what is our remedy? we haue endured, & we haue entreated: but our patience hath drawne more heauie burthens, and our complaints procured more bitter blowes: by the one our liuings, and our liues by the other are daily deuoured. And therefore we are now cõpelled to ſhake off our ſhoulders this importable yoke, and ſubmit our ſelues to the ſoueraignтie of ſome more moderate and worthy per-

ſon: not ſo much for the griefe of our miſeries which are paſt, nor for the paine of our preſent diſtreſſes, as for feare of ſuch daungers as are moſt like to enſue, for the King hath cut away the chiefe of the nobilitie, and the commons hee hath pared to the quicke, and ſtill hee harrieth vs as a conquered countrie: whereby we are layd bare to the hauocke of all our enemies, and vtterly diſabled, not only to recouer that which is loſt, but alſo to retain euen that which is left. But to whom ſhould we complaine? what ſuccour, whoſe ayde ſhould we deſire? you are the onely man, who in right ſhould, and in wiſedome can, and in goodneſſe will (we hope) relieue vs. For you are neereſt to the King in bloud, and therefore ought to haue the rule of that which his weakeneſſe cannot wield. Your yeares are well ſtaied from the light conceits of youth, and ſo ſpent, that all your actions haue made proofe of abilitie in gouernment of greateſt charge: nothing paſt needeth excuſe, and feare is vaine for any thing to come. The paines and perils which heretofore you haue vndertaken for the benefite of your countrie, putteth vs alſo in good hope, that in theſe extremities you will not forſake vs; wee are all as in a ſhip that is ready to ſink, as in a houſe that is ready to fall, and doe moſt humbly craue and call for your helpe, now or elſe neuer ſhew your ſelfe in fauour of your countrymen, to free vs, to free your ſelfe, to free the whole ſtate from theſe dangers and decayes, by taking into your hands the ſcepter and diademe of the Realme, and reducing againe the gouernement thereof to a princely freedome; in combining the ſoueraignty of one with the libertie of all. Omit not this occaſiõ, to ſet forth to the view of the world, as in a large field, & at free ſcope your vertue and courage, by relieuing miſerable wretches from their oppreſſors: which action hath been ſo highly honoured, that many heathen men for the ſame, haue beene accompted as Gods. This we are conſtrained to offer and intreate: this is both honorable for you to accept, and eaſie to be performed: and ſo much the more, in that no

Princes

Prince, by any people haue beene deſired with greater affection, nor ſhall be with more dutie obeyed.

The Duke entertained this ſpeech with great moderation of mind, ſhewing himſelfe neither diſturbed thereat, nor exceſſiue in ioy. His aunſwere concerning the King, was reſpectiue and well tempered; rather lamenting his weakeneſſe then blaming his malice. Concerning himſelfe hee ſpake ſo modeſtly, that he ſeemed rather worthy of a kingdome, then deſirous. The life (quoth he) which hitherto I haue led, hath alwayes been free from ambitious attempts: and the ſtayednes ſe of my yeares, hath now ſetled my mind from aſpiring thoughts: and experience of former dangers hath bred in me a warie regard in ſuch weightie proceedings, for to caſt a King out of ſtate, is an enterpriſe not haſtily to be reſolued vpon, nor eaſily affected: but ſuppoſe that matter not impoſſible; and perhaps not hard, yet the rareneſſe of the like precedents, will make the action ſeeme iniurious to moſt men: and he that ſhall attaine a kingdome vpon opinion of deſert, doth charge himſelfe with great expectation, and how honourably ſoeuer hee carrie himſelfe, ſhall neuer want his deadly enuiers: beſides this, in ciuill diſſentions the faith of the whole people is fleeting, and daunger is to be doubted from euery particular perſon: ſo that it is poſſible that all may fall away, and impoſſible to beware of euery one. Therefore I could rather wiſh to ſpend the courſe of my yeares which yet remaine in this obſcure, yet ſafe and certaine ſtate, then to thruſt my ſelfe vpon the pikes of thoſe perils, which being once entred into, are daungerous to follow, & deadly to forſake: for in priuate attempts, a man may ſtep and ſtop when he pleaſe: but he that aymeth at a kingdome, hath no middle courſe betweene the life of a prince, & the death of a traytor.

The Archbiſhop hearing this, did as vainely perſiſt in importuning the duke, as he vainly ſeemed vnwilling & ſtrãge. The ſtate (ſaid he) wherein now you ſtand, is not ſo ſafe and certaine as you doe conceiue. Indeed, by reiecting our re-

queſt you ſhall auoid certaine dignity, and therewith vncertaine and contingent dangers; but you ſhall procure moſt certaine deſtruction both to your ſelfe and vs. For this ſecret cannot be kept long ſecret from the king: & euen good princes are nice in points of ſoueraignty, and beare a nimble eare to the touch of that ſtring: and it more hurteth a ſubiect to be eſteemed worthy of the kingdom, then it will profit him to haue refuſed the offer. What then will he do, who putteth the chiefeſt ſurtie of his raigne in the baſeneſſe & bareneſſe of his ſubiects? whoſe head being poſſeſſed with erernall ieloufy, maketh euery preſumption a proofe, and euery light ſurmiſe a ſtrong ſuſpition againſt them. Surely ſince the generall faucur & loue which the people beareth you, hath bereaued you of your liberty, this their generall deſire will not leaue your life vntouched. As for vs, if we either faint in our intent, or faile in the enterpriſe, *actum eſt*: we ſhal be as lambs among lyons: and no conqueſt can be ſo cruell as the Kings reigne will be ouer vs. Certainely we haue gone too far, for to go backe; and the time is paſt, when you for ambition and we for enuy might ſeeme to attempt againſt the King: the attainment of the kingdome muſt now be a ſanctuary and refuge for vs both. The like examples are not rare (as you affirme) nor long ſince put in practiſe, nor farre hence to be fetched. The kings of Denmarke and of Sweueland, are oftentimes baniſhed by their ſubiects; oftentimes impriſoned and put to their fine, the Princes of Germany, about an hundred yeeres paſt depoſed *Adulphus* their Emperor, and are now in hand to depoſe their Emperor *Wenceſlaus*. The Earle of Flanders was a while ſince driuen out of his dominion by his owne people, for vſurping greater power then appertained to his eſtate. The auncient Britaines chaſed away their owne King *Carecious*, for the lewdneſſe of his life, and cruelty of his rule In the time of the Saxon *Heptarchie*, *Bernredus* King of *Mercia*, for his pride and ſtoutnes towardes his people, was by them depoſed. Likewiſe *Aldredus & Ethelber-*

tus

tus Kinges of Northumberland, were for their diſorders ex-pelled by their ſubiects. Since the victory of the Normaines, the Lords endeauoured to expell King *Henry* the third, but they were not able: yet were they able to depoſe King *Edward* the ſecond, and to conſtitute his young ſonne *Edward* King in his ſtead: theſe are not all, and yet enough to cleare this action of rareneſſe in other countries; & noueltie in our. The difficulty indeede is ſomewhat, becauſe the excellencie is great: but they that are afraide of euery buſh, ſhall neuer take the bird: & your ſelfe had once ſome triall hereof, when without battaile, without bloud or blowes, you had the King at ſuch a lift, as he held his Crowne at your courteſie, euen at that time when his grieuances were, neither for greatnes nor continuance, ſo intollerable as now they are growne: and by reaſon of his tender yeares, not out of all compaſſe, both of excuſe for the fault, and of hope for amendment. And as concerning the lawfulneſſe.

Nay (ſayd the Duke) where neceſſity doth inforce, it is ſuperfluous to vſe ſpeech, either of eaſineſſe, or of lawfulneſſe: neceſſity will beate thorow braſen walles; and can be limited by no lawes. I haue felt very deeply my part in theſe calamities, and I would you knew with what griefe I haue beheld your: for what other reward haue I receiued, of all my trauailes and ſeruices, but the death of my vncle and deareſt friends, my owne baniſhment, the impriſonment of my children, and loſſe of my inheritance? and what haue beene returne I to you, for your bloud ſo often ſhed in his vnfortunate warres, but continuall tributes, ſcourges, gallowes, and ſlauerie? I haue made ſufficient proofe both of patience in my owne miſeries, and of pitty in your: remedy them hitherto I could not: If now I can, I will not refuſe to ſuſtain that part, which your importunity doth impoſe vpon me, if we preuaile, we ſhall recouer againe our liberty: if we looſe, our ſtate ſhal be no worſe then now it is: and ſince we muſt needs periſh, either deſeruingly, or without cauſe, it is more hono-

rable to put our ſelues vpon the aduenture eyther to winne our liues, or to dye for deſerte: and although our liues were ſafe, which indeede are not, yet to abandon the ſtate, and ſleepe ſtill in this ſlauerie; were a poynt of negligence and ſloath. It remaineth then, that wee vſe both ſecrecie and celeritie, laying hold vpon the opportunitie which the Kings abſence hath now preſented vnto vs: for in all enterpriſes which neuer are commended before they bee atchieued, delayes are dangerous; and more ſafe it is to bee found in action, then in counſaile: for they that deliberate onely to rebell, haue rebelled already.

So the meſſengers departed into England, to declare the Dukes acceptance, and to make preparation againſt his arriuall, both of armour, and of ſubiection, and deſire to obey. Preſently after their departure, the Duke ſignified to *Charles* king of Fraunce, that he had a deſire to goe into Brittaine, to viſite *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine his friend and kinſman. The King ſuſpecting no further fetch, ſent letters of commendation in his fauour, to the Duke of Brittaine: but if he had ſarmiſed any dangerous drift againſt King *Richard*, who not long before, had taken his daughter to wife; in ſtead of letters of ſafe conducte, he would haue founde lettes to haue kept him ſafe from diſturbing his ſonne in lawes eſtate.

Aſſoone as the Duke was come into Brittaine, he waged certaine ſouldiers, and preſently departed to Calice, and ſo committed to ſea for England; giuing forth, that the onely cauſe of his voyage, was to recouer the Duchie of Lanchaſter, and the reſt of his lawfull inheritance, which the King wrongfully deteyned from him. In this companie was *Thomas Arundell* the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and *Thomas* the ſon and heire of *Richard* late Earle of Arundell, who was very yong, and had a little before eſcaped out of priſon, and fled into Fraunce to the Duke. The reſidue of his attendants were very few, not exceeding the number of fifteen lances: ſo that it is hard to eſteeme whether it was greater maruaile,

either

either that he durſt attempt, or that he did preuaile with ſo ſmall a company: but his chiefeſt confidence was in the fauour & aſſiſtance of the people within the realme. So he did beare with England, yet not in a ſtreight courſe, but floated along the ſhoare, making head ſometimes to one coaſt, and ſometime to another, to diſcouer what forces were in a readines, either to reſiſt or receiue him.

As hee was in this ſort houering on the ſeas, L. *Edmund* duke of Yorke, the Kings vncle, to whom the King had committed the cuſtody of the Realme during the time of his abſence, called vnto him *Edmũd Stafford* biſhop of Chicheſter, L. Chancellour, & *W. Scroupe* earle of Wiltſhire, L. Treaſurour of the Realme, alſo Sir *Iohn Buſhie*, Sir *Henry Greene*, ſir *William Bagot*, Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, and certain others of the kings Priuy councell; and entred into deliberation what was beſt to be done. At the laſt it was concluded, deceitfully by ſome, vnskilfully by others, and by all perniciouſly for the king; to leaue the ſea coaſts, and to leaue London, the very walles and caſtle of the Realme, and goe to S. *Albons*, there to gather ſtrength ſufficient to encounter with the duke. It is moſt certaine that the dukes ſide was not any wayes more furthered, then by this diſſembling and deceiueable dealing: for open hoſtility and armes, may openly and by armes bee reſiſted: but priuy practiſes as they are hardly eſpied, ſo are they ſeldome auoided. And thus by this meanes the Duke landed about the feaſt of *Saint Martin*, without let or reſiſtance, at Rauenſpur in Houlderneſſe, as moſt writers affirme.

Preſently after his arriual, there reſorted to him Lord *Henry Pearcie* Earle of Northumberland, and Lord *Henry* his ſon Earle of Weſtmerland, Lorde *Radulph Nenill*, Lorde *Roſe*, Lord *Willoughby*, & many other perſonages of honor, whoſe company encreaſed reputation to the cauſe, and was a great countenance and ſtrength to the Dukes further purpoſes. And firſt they tooke of him an oath, that he ſhould neither procure nor permit any bodily harme to be done vnto King

Richard; whereupon they bound themſelues vpon their honours to proſecute all extremities againſt his miſchieuous counſailers. And this was one ſtep further then that which the Duke pretended at the firſt, when he tooke ſhipping at Callice, which was only the recouery of his inheritance: but that was as yet not determined, nor treated, and of ſome perhaps not thought vpon; which afterwards it did enſue: and ſo was that place eaſily inſinuated into by degrees, which with maine and direct violence would hardlier haue bin obtained. Then the common people deſperate vpon newe deſires, and without head, head-long to matters of innouation, flocked very faſt to theſe noble men, the better ſort for loue to the common-wealth, ſome vpon a wanton leuity, and vaine deſire of change, others in regard of their own diſtreſſed and decayed eſtate, who ſetting their chiefe hopes and deuices vppon a generall diſturbance, were then moſt ſafe when the common ſtate was moſt vnſure. So betweene the one and the other, the multitude did in ſhort time increaſe to the number of threeſcore thouſand able ſouldiers.

The Duke finding this fauour not onely to exceede his expectation, but euen aboue his wiſh, he thought it beſt to followe the current whilſt the ſtreame was moſt ſtrong, knowing right well, that if fortune be followed, as the firſt doe fall out, the reſt will commonly ſucceede. Therefore cutting off vnneceſſary delayes, with all poſſible celerity he haſtned towardes London: to the end that poſſeſſing himſelfe thereof as the chiefe place within the realme, both for ſtrength and ſtore, he might there make the ſeat of the warre. In this iourney no ſigne nor ſhew of hoſtility appeared, but all the way as hee paſſed, the men of chiefeſt quality and power adioyned themſelues vnto him, ſome vpon heat of affection, ſome for feare, others vpon hope of reward after victory; euerie one vpon cauſes diſlike, with like ardent deſire contending, leaſt any ſhould ſeeme more forward then they: In euery place alſo where he made ſtay, rich gifts and pleaſant deuiſes

ſes were preſented vnto him, with large ſupply both of force and prouiſion, farre aboue his neede: and the common people which for their greatneſſe take no care of publique affaires, and are in leaſt daunger by reaſon of their baſeneſſe, with ſhouts and acclamations gaue their applauſe: extolling the Duke, as the onely man of courage, and ſaluting him King; but ſpending many contumelious termes vpon King *Richard*, and deprauing him as a ſimple and ſluggiſh man, a daſtard, a meycocke, and one altogether vnworthy to beare rule; ſhewing themſelues as much without reaſon in rayling vpon the one, as they were in flatering the other. Againe, the Duke for his part was not negligent to vncouer the head to bowe the body, to ſtretch forth the hand to euery meane perſon, and to vſe all other complements of popular behauiour: wherewith the mindes of the common multitude are much delighted and drawen; taking that to bee courteſie, which the ſeuerer ſort accompt abaſement. When he came to the citty, he was there likewiſe very richly and royally entertained, with proceſſions and pageants, and diuers other triumphant deuiſes and ſhews, the ſtandings in al the ſtreets, where he paſſed, were taken vp to behold him; and the vnable multitude, who otherwiſe could not, yet by their good words, wiſhes, and wils, did teſtify vnto him their louing affections: neither did there appeare in any man at that time, any memory of faith and allegiance towards King *Richard*, but as (in ſeditions it alwayes hapneth) as the moſt ſwayed all did goe.

On the contrary ſide, the Duke of Yorke with the reſt of his counſaile, fell to muſtering of men at S. Albones, for the King: but as the people out of diuers quarters were called thither, many of thē proteſted, that they would do nothing to the harme and preiudice of the Duke of Lancaſter, who they ſaid was vniuſtly expelled, firſt from his country, and afterwardes from his inheritance. Then *W. Scroupe* Earle of Wiltſhire, L. Treaſurer, S. *I. Buſh*, *Sir W. Bagot*, and Sir *Henrie*

rie Greene, perceiuing the ſtiffe reſolution of the people forſooke the Duke of Yorke, and the L. Chanceller, and fled towards Briſtow; intending to paſſe the ſeas into Ireland to the king. Theſe foure were they vpon whom the common fame went, that they had taken of the king his realm to farm: who were ſo odious vnto the people, that their preſence turned away the hearts of many ſubiects; yea it was thought that more for diſpleaſure againſt them, then againſt the king, the reuolt was made. For being the onely men of credit and authority with the King, vnder falſe colour of obedience they wholy gouerned both the realme & him; to many miſchiefes corrupting his mind, and in many abuſing his name, either againſt his will, or without his knowledge, inſomuch as hee was innocent of much harme which paſſed vnder his commaundement: but the patience of the people could not endure that two or three ſhould rule all; not by reaſon they were ſufficient, but becauſe they were *in* fauour: and the King in that he permitted them whom he might haue bridled, or was ignorant of that which he ſhould haue knowen, by tollerating and wincking at their faults, made them his owne, and opened thereby the way to his deſtruction. So oftentimes it falleth out to bee as daungerous to a Prince to haue hurtfull and hatefull officers in place and ſeruices of weight, as to be hurtfull and hatefull himſelfe.

The Duke of Yorke either amazed at this ſodain change, or fearing his aduenture if he ſhould proceed in reſiſtance, gaue ouer the cauſe, and preferred preſent ſecurity, before duty with daunger; giuing moſt men occaſion to miſdeeme by his dealing, that he ſecretly fauoured the dukes enterpriſe likewiſe all the other counſailers of that ſide, either openly declared for the duke or ſecretly wiſhed him well: & abandoning all priuate direction and aduiſe, adioyned themſelues to the common courſe, preſuming thereby of greater ſafety.

Duke *Henrie* in the meane time being at London, entred into deliberation with his friends, what way were beſt to be followed. At the laſt; hauing conſidered the forwardneſſe of the

the people, the greatneſſe of the perill whereinto they had already plunged, and the kings irreconcilable nature, wherof he made proofe againſt the Duke of Gloceſter, and the earles of Arundel & of Warwicke: they finally reſolued to expell him from his dignity, & to conſtitute duke *Henry* king in his ſted: and to that end open warre was denounced againſt the King, and againſt all his partakers as enemies, to the quiet and proſperity of the realme; and pardon alſo promiſed to all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelues to follow the preſent courſe. otherwiſe to look for no fauour, but all extremities. None of the nobility durſt openly oppoſe himſelfe to theſe deſignes: ſome vnwilling to play all their ſtate at a caſt, kept themſelus at liberty, to be directed by ſucceſſe of further euent: others conſented coldly, and in tearmes of doubtfull conſtruction, with intent to interpret them afterwards, as occaſion ſhould change: but the moſt part did directly and reſolutely enter into the cauſe, and made their fortunes common with the Duke, in daunger of the attempt, but not in honour: among whom, the Duke ſtanding vp, vſed ſpeech to this purpoſe.

I am returned here as you ſee, at your procurement, and by your agreement haue entred into armes for the common liberty: wee haue hitherto proſperouſlie proceeded, but in what tearmes we now ſtand, I am altogether vncertaine. A priuate man I am loath to be accompted, being deſigned to be King by you; and a Prince I cannot be eſteemed, whilſt another is in poſſeſſion of the Kingdome. Alſo your name is in ſuſpence, whether to be termed rebels or ſubiects, vntill you haue made manifeſt that your alleageance was bound rather to the ſtate of the realme then the perſon of the Prince. Now you are the men who haue both cauſed this doubtfulneſſe and muſt cleare the ſame; your parts ſtill remaineth to be performed; your vertue & valure muſt adde ſtrength to the goodneſſe of this action. We haue already attempted ſo farre, that all hope of pardon is extinct; ſo that if wee ſhould ſhrinke back, & breake of the enterpriſe, no mercy is to be expected

but butchery and gibbets, and all extremities: if we driue off & delay the accompliſhment thereof, we ſhall looſe the opportunity which now is offred, and open to our enemies occaſion of aduantage. For the peoples bloud is vp now on our ſide, and nothing is wanting but our owne diligence & care: let vs not therfore triſle our the time of doing, in talking and deliberating: it is beſt ſtriking whilſt the iron is hoate: let vs ſet forth roundly, and poſſeſſe our ſelues with ſpeed of all the parts of the realme: and ſo we ſhall bee able either to keepe out our concurrent, or els to entertaine him litle to his liking. So troups of men were ſent into euery quarter of the realme, to ſecure them for making ſtrength on the part of King *Richard:* but the people in all places as men broken with many burthens, did eaſily entertaine the firſt commer, and were not curious to ſide with the ſtroger. The Duke purſued thoſe of the Kings priuie counſaile, which fled away from the duke of Yorke; bearing himſelfe with great cheere and courage, as confident in the cauſe, and ſecure of the euent. When he came at Briſtow he found the caſtle fortified againſt him; but in ſhort time he forced it, and tooke therein *Sir Iohn Buſhy, Sir Henrie Greene, & W. Scroupe, L. Treaſurer*, a ioyfull pray to the cómon people: who (fearing that if execution ſhould bee deferred, petitions for pardon might happen to preuaile, and ſo their cruelties and iniuries ſhould be anſwered with the vaine title and commendation of clemency) did violently require them vnto death, no reſpite could be obteyned, no defence admitted, no anſwere heard: yea their humble and ſubmiſſe intreaty was interpreted to argue a weake and broken courage vpon a guilty conſcience, which more incenſed the rage of the people, crying out that they were traitours, bloud-ſuckers, theeues, and what other heinous tearmes inſulting fury did put into their mouthes: at which clamorous and importunant inſtance, the day following they were beheaded, Sir *William Bagot* came not with them to Briſtowe, but turned to Cheſter: and the purſuit being made after the

moſt

moſt, he alone eſcaped into Ireland. This execution, partly becauſe it pleaſed the people, and partly becauſe it excluded all hope of the Kings pardon, cauſed them to cleaue more cloſely to the Duke; which greatly increaſed both his glory, & his hope: hauing offers of ſo large aide, & need of ſo litle.

In the meane time this newes of the Dukes arriuall and of other occurrences, part true, part falſe, and part enlarged by circumſtance, (as fame groweth in the going) was blowne ouer to the King, being then entangled with other broyles in Ireland, at the receipt whereof, he cauſed the ſonnes of the Duke of Glouceſter, and of the Duke of Lancaſter to be impriſoned in the ſtrong Caſtle of Trim, which is in Ireland, and for diſpatch to returne into England, left many matters vnfiniſhed, and moſt of his prouiſion behind, haſting & ſhuffling vp, as preſent neceſſity did enforce. So being both vnskilfull and vnfortunate himſelfe, & deuoide of good direction; with more haſte then good hap, he tooke ſhipping, with the Duke of Aumerle, Exceter and Surrie, the Biſhops of London, Lincolne, and Caerliele, and many other men of qualitie: and croſsing the ſeas, landed at Milford hauen in Wales, in which countrimen he alwayes repoſed his chiefeſt ſuretie and truſt, but then he ſaw contrary to his expectation, that as wel there as in all other places, the people by plumps flocked to the Duke, & fled from him: yea they that came with him began for to wauer, no man encouraging them to be conſtant, but many to reuolt. This ſuddaine chaunge not looked for, not thought vpon, diſturbed all the Kings deuiſes, and made him irreſolute what he ſhould doe: on the one ſide hee ſaw his cauſe and quarrell to be right, and his conſcience (he ſaid) cleare from any bad demerite: on the other ſide hee ſaw the great ſtrength of his enemies, and the whole power of the realme bent againſt him: & being more abaſhed by the one, then emboldned by the other, he ſtoode perplexed in vncertaine termes, either where to ſtay, or whither to ſtir, hauing neither skill nor reſolution himſelfe in caſes of difficultie, and

noxious to hurtfull and vnfaithfull counſaile. Some aduiſed him to march forward, and pierce deeper into the land, before his owne forces fell from him: affirming that valour is ſeconded by fortune: that this courage of his, would confirme the conſtancie of his ſouldiers: and his preſence put the people in remembrance of their faith. that in all places he ſhould finde ſome, who for fauour or for hire, or elſe for duetie, would adhere vnto him: whereby hee ſhould ſoone gather ſtrength ſufficient to ioyne iſſue with his enemie in the fielde. Others perſwaded him to retire againe into Ireland, & then if ſuccour failed him in England, to wage ſouldiers out of other countries. But the King being no man of action in military affaires, reiected both the counſailes, as neyther venturous enough with the one, nor warie enough with the other: and taking a middle courſe (which in caſes of extremitie of all is the worſt) he determined to make ſtay in Wales, and there to attende to what head this humour would riſe.

The Duke vpon advertiſement that the King was landed in Wales, remoued with a ſtrong armie from Briſtowe towardes Cheſter, vſing the firſt opportunity againſt him, and which indeed was the fitteſt. When *L. Thomas Pearcy* Earle of Worceſter and ſteward of the Kings houſhold, heard of the Dukes approach, he brake forth into ſhewe of that diſpleaſure which before he had conceiued againſt the King, for proclaiming his brother the Earle of Northumberlande traytour, and therevpon openly in the hall, in the preſence of the Kings ſeruants, he brake his white rodde, the enſigne of his office, and forthwith departed to the Duke, willing euery man to ſhift for himſelfe in time: by which acte he loſt reputation both with the haters & fauourers of King *Richard*; being accompted of the one a corrupter, of the other a forſaker and betrayer of the King. After this example, almoſt all the reſt, more fearefull then faithfull, ſcattered themſelues euery one his way: and they who in the Kings flouriſhing

time

time, would haue contended to bee formoſt, now in his declining eſtate equally draw backe, and like ſwallowes, forſooke that houſe in the winter of fortunes boyſterous blaſts, where they did nothing but feede & ſoyle in the ſummer of her ſweete ſun-ſhine. And thus betweene faint ſouldiers and falſe friends, the King was abandoned and forſaken, and left almoſt vnto himſelfe: looke on he might, but let it, hee could not, as not of force to puniſh that, which he neuer forced to preuent: his only remedy was patience: (a cold comfort) his only reuenge was complaint: (a weake weapon) betweene which two, his bitternesſe did in this manner breake from him.

And doe theſe alſo (ſaid he) forſake me? doth their faith & my fortune end together? wel, if I had forſaken them in time I had not beene forſaken of others, who once lou'ed me better, and now are able to harme me more. But now I ſee the blindnes of my iudgement: I plainely ſee, that there is no friendſhip in flatterie, nor treachery in plaine truth: and I would I had as much time to reforme this error: as I am like to haue to repent it, but they would not ſuffer me to be wiſe when I might, and now they haue made me wretched they runne from me: they could be the cauſes, but they will not be companions of my miſeries: ſuch attendants are Crowes to a carcaſſe, which flocke together, not to defend, but to deuoure it, and no ſooner haue they layd the bones bare, but ſtraight-wayes they are gone.

Thus the King hauing loſt both the feare and loue of his ſubiects, diſturbed and diſtracted in thoughts, without comfort, councell or courage, remained ſtill in Wales, as a ſtranger at home, as an exile in his owne kingdome, not daring to goe to London, nor any man deſirous to come to him ſhifting ſtill from place to place, and (as it falls out to men diſtreſſed and amazed) caring all things, but moſt diſliking the preſent. The Duke continually purſued him with a mightie armie: but the Kings company was too ſmall to doe any thing

by force, and yet too great to remaine in ſecret: neither were they in any ſort aſſured vnto him, but ſuch as ſhame and reuerence retained awhile; bands of ſmall countenance with men fearefull of danger, and careleſſe of credit. At the length he came to the Caſile of Conweye; and there being vtterly deſtitute both of helpe and hope, he ſtood diuided in mind what way to bend his courſe, all his followers were more ready to impugne the opinions of other, then to giue direction themſelues, as ſeeing better what to ſhunne then what to follow: and as it alwayes chanceth in deſperate cauſes, that way was commonly preferred, whereof the opportunity was already paſt. Some aduiſed him that it was the time to think, rather of ſauing his life, then recouering his eſtate. You ſee (ſaid they) how greatly & how wholly your ſubiects are ſet againſt you: it is but in vaine to look for a ſuddaine change, or without a chaunge to hope that your purpoſes may preuaile, giue place for a time to the current of this fury: let it haue the full ſway; and when it is at the higheſt pitch, it will turne againe; and then you ſhall haue the tide as ſtrong on your ſide, as it is now againſt you. This motiō or rather commotion of the people, is violent and againſt nature: & therefore (as a ſtone forced vpward) is moſt ſtrong at the beginning, and the further it paſſeth the more it weakneth, vntill at laſt it returne to the naturall courſe againe. Therefore giue a little ſpace for the bad to draw backe, for the good to put forward: treaſons preuaile on the ſuddaine, but good counſailes gather forces by leaſure, You haue example in your noble progenitor King *Henrie* the third, againſt whom the Lords ſet vp *Lewes* the French Kings ſonne: conditions were concluded, and faith was made that he ſhould be their King; but this purpoſe laſted not the pulling on: for before they had poſſeſſed him of the Kingdom, they ioyned togither in armes againſt him, & were as fierce to driue him out of the realme, as they had beene found to draw him in. The like alteration may you likewiſe not onely hope, but aſſuredly expect: for

the

the mindes of men are conſtant in nothing but inconſtancie, and perſeuer onely in chaunge, in diſlike of things preſent they deſire new, wherewith they reſt not long contented, but are many times glutted euen with the firſt ſight. And indeed how can they long endure the raigne of him, who attaining the kingdom onely by their fauour and might, ſhall holde the ſame in a manner, at their courteſie and will? for euerie vnpleaſant commaund, ſhall be deemed ingratitude: euerie ſuit reiected, ſhal charge him with vnkindneſſe; Yea if honor be not offered, they will be diſcontented: and vpon any occaſion of diſpleaſure, thinke thēſelues as able to diſplace him, as they were to ſet him vp: therefore you may for a time, returne againe into Ireland; or elſe paſſe the ſeas to your Father in lawe, the King of Fraunce: you may aſſure your ſelfe of his aſſiſtance, to ſet vpon your ſide, and recouer your loſſes. Times haue their turnes, and fortune her courſe too and fro like the ſea, and magnanimitie is ſhewne by enduring, and not relinquiſhing, when ſhe doth croſſe, onely looſe no point of courage, and keepe your perſon at large: reſeruing your ſelfe to that good hope, which neuer dieth whilſt life endure.

Others, who were enemies to all counſaile, whereof themſelues were not authors perſwaded the King, that the nobilitie and commons of the realme had attempted ſo farre, that they would rather dye, then deſiſt; not ſo much for hatred to you, as for feare to themſelues; hauing ſo deadly incenſed your diſpleaſure againſt them. For it is a hard matter to forgiue, and impoſſible to forget thoſe iniuries and indignities which they haue offered. And to omit what ſome Princes haue done, what all will promiſe to doe, they will ſoone find freſh and bleeding examples what you are like to doe. The Duke of Glouceſter and the Earle of Arundell and of Warwicke did riſe in armes againſt you, not to remoue you from your crowne: but to remoue certaine perſons frō your companie, an action more diſpleaſing then preiudiciall vnto you: at the laſt, a friendſhip was made, and charters of free par-

don graunted vnto them: but what followed? was euer the breach perfectly made vp? did displeasure dye? or was it only dissembled? ah, it grieueth vs to thinke, how the present want of their liues, hath fully reuenged their deathes: for if they had liued, their countenance and authoritie woulde easily haue stayed these stirs; and the manner of their deaths doth strike an obstinate persistance into all your enemies As for refuge to forren Princes, you shall surely receiue of them entertainement and allowance, and yet may grow burdensome, and at last perhaps faile: but it is very hard to draw any Prince into so dangerous a quarrell: and more harde by that meanes to preuaile: or if you should, it is to be feared that the victorers will hold to themselus the benefit of their conqueſt, and not yeeld it ouer vnto you. Few countries but haue bin vnder pretence of ayde by forrenners subdued: and this was the only cause which first drew the Saxons into this land: who so assisted the Britaines against their enemies, that themselues could not be resisted from possessing theyr kingdome. Yet we doe not altogether condemne the helpe of straungers, in cases of extremity; but doe account it a remedy, least to be trusted, and last of all to bee tried. What then if first you should procure a treaty, to see in what terms the people stand against you? It may be that vpon some conditions they will submit themselues vnto you, as heretofore they haue done. Or if they will needs deforce you from your kingdome, yet if an honourable maintenance may bee assured, what shall you lose thereby? What shall you lack? You haue no childe to be disinherited; the chiefest motiue which maketh men so greedy to get, and so carefull to keepe. And as for your selfe, you shall be remoued from a steepe and slippery hill to a smooth and pleasant plaine; from tempestuous seas, to a calme hauen; from daungerous trauaile to secure rest: and if there be no solace without safety, no felicity without firmnesse; you shall finde the priuate life not onely more sweete, but more high and happy then your princely state.

The

The talleſt trees are weakeſt in the toppes; in wideſt fieldes are greateſt tempeſts;and enuy alwaies aimeth at loftieſt marks:; ſo that to be placed on high,is a falſe felicity, and a true miſery in ſhew a rule,but indeed a ſubiection to all the ſubiects; hauing leaſt ſtay to ſtand, and moſt danger in the fall: and therefore if you come downe ſafely, you are therein priuiledged aboue many other.But you ſhal loſe(you will ſay)the credit & the countenance of a King: ſo you ſhal the cares; and ſo you ſhall the caſualties.The crown&ſceptar are things moſt weighty to weld: if a Prince be good,he is laden with labour,if euill,with infamy and reproch:if either with perils:on euery ſide he is beſet with dangerous rocks,with deadly gulfes,& continually toſſed with ſtrong and ſturdie tempeſts:ſo that to be freed fr̄ theſe feares, is to be eſteemed an eſcape, and not a loſſe. This did the ſtoick Philoſopher perceiue, who ſeeing *Dionyſius* ſit, merily & freely conceited in the theater, beeing a little before expelled his kingdom; greatly condemned the error of his people who had baniſhed him to ſuch liberty,& ſo preferred him by his puniſhment.Theſe are the dreames of Philoſophers(you wil ſay)who vſually depraue and contemne honor,& yet neuer lie from honourable mens tables. Let paſſe then Philoſophers: go to vaine and ſottiſh men.*Seleuchus* being a king was wont to ſay,that if a man knew with what cares the diadē was clogged,he would not take it vp,although it lay in the ſtreet. You will ſay peraduenture, that like the boatman, he looked one way, and pulled another;or like the lapwing,he cried moſt whē he was furtheſt from his neſt, vainly diſpraiſing that which he was loatheſt to looſe.What ſay you then to *Antiochus?* whome when the Romanes had diſpoiled of al Aſia, he ſent vnto them great thanks, that they had rid him of infinit & importable cares,and ſet him at a moderate quiet: you will ſay that he made a vertue of his neceſſity.Well then,we are ſomewhat neere your cace:& they that cannot frame their wils to this wiſedome,let them thanke their enemies for enforcing thē to it. But what ſay you to *Diocleſian?* who did voluntarily relinquiſh, not a ſmall and corner kingdōe,but the greateſt empire that the world did euer bear

and found ſo ſweet contentmẽt in that exchange, that when he was importuned by the ſenate, to reſume his eſtate, hee vtterly reiected their ſuite. But what need we trauell in externe hiſtories for thoſe examples, whereof we haue ſo large ſupply in our owne? the ancient Saxon Kings: *Kingilſus, Ina, Ceolulpus, Fadbertus, Ethelredus, Kẽredus, Offa, Sebbi, & Sigebertus* did of their owne accord laye downe their diadems and ſcepters, and betake themſelues to ſolitary & religious liues Now many Princes haue held their eſtate with better fortune, but none did euer with greater honor leaue it, then you ſhould at this preſent: for others haue abãdoned their rule, either for deſire of eaſe, or for auoidance of dangers, or vpon ſome ſluggiſh or ſuperſtitious deuotion: but you for loue to your country, ſhal forbear to ſeek your vttermoſt remedy, in ſetting vpa moſt cruel war: wherein much Engliſh bloud ſhould be ſpilt, and the realme depriued of many worthy armies. Let others be reported to forſake their kingdoms, when they had no longer pleaſure to hold thẽ: but your praiſe ſhall be for giuing ouer, when it is greateſt benefit vnto the people; and the more hope you haue to preuaile, if you liſt to contend, the greater commendations will it bee to yeeld, as being rather voluntary then by conſtraint.

The king cõmended the courage of the firſt, but this laſt coũſel beſt agreed with his faint and feeble ſpirit, more yeelding to feare then forward in hope; apt by the one to deſpaire, vnable by the other to hold out in any hard aduenture, preferring alwayes abiect and baſe ſafety, before hazard with honour. Yet were many ready to reply, that al ſpeech of conditions & yeelding was both diſhonorable, and alſo dangerous: for euen in hardeſt haps, ſaid they, a noble nature wil not preſently relinquiſh; but firſt endeuor either by courage to repell the danger, or by wiſdom to decline it: and why ſhould you ſo little eſteem your glory and fame, as without battel, or blow ſtriken to bind your hands, & yeeld vp your weapons, and put your ſelfe vpon miſerable mercy: or if the honor of your noble houſe doth nothing moue you, yet let danger and deſpaire at leaſt arme you to boldneſſe; for neither the duke nor his friends will be ſo confident

as

as to thinke themſelues ſafe, ſo long as you ſhall remaine (although in priuate ſtate) aliue. Indeed you may aſſure your ſelfe that faire words wil be giuen,& large offers made:but the performance ſhall conſiſt in the courteſie of the conqueror:and nothing will be thought vnlawfull to him that hath power. King *Edward* the ſecond was too heauy to be indured,euē of his own ſonne: and many haue vſed violence to themſelues,rather then they would fal into the power of their concurrents:and do not you expect more fauor or greater fortune then other haue foūd: let neuer that ſenſeleſnes poſſeſſe your mind, to imagine that a prince may liue ſafely in priuate eſtate: for in this caſe there is no meane betweene *Cæſar* and nothing, between the higheſt honor and the deadlieſt downfall. Therfore omit neither al nor any one meanes vnaſſayed, to maintaine your ſide by armes: no greater harme can happen at the hardeſt, then that which willingly you run into:you can but die if you be vanquiſhed,& die you ſhall if you do yeeld:but by the one you ſhall end your life with glory,by the other with ſhame and perpetual reproch. And although you do now eſteeme equally of both, yet when you ſhall ſee your ſelfe pent in priſon; in daily feare and expectancie of a bloudy meſſenger; you ſhall then perceiue a difference in death, and find the weakneſſe and fault of the councell which you are about to follow. Many like ſpeeches were with great vehemēcie often repeated,but the Kings eares were ſtopped againſt all impreſſion of manhood:and as he was vnable to gouerne himſelfe in his proſperous eſtate,ſo was he much leſſe ſufficient to wind out of theſe intricate troubles. Therfore perceiuing himſelfe ſo ſtraitly beſet,that he could hardly either eſcape away,or ſhift any longer,he deſired ſpeech with *Tho. Arundel* archbiſh. of Cant. & L. *Hen. Pearcy* earle of Northum. of whom, the one he had baniſhed, the other he had proclaimed traitor not long before. Theſe two came vnto him,& the king vpon ſhort conference,vnderſtanding what ſtiffe ſtomacks they bare againſt him,was cōtent not to demand that which he ſaw he could not obtaine:& therevpon agreed that he would relinquiſh his eſtate,vpon condition that an honorable liuing might

be aſſined him,& life promiſed to 8. ſuch perſons as hee would name: the greateſt number whom aduerſity did not alter. This was then both readily and faithfully promiſed by the Archbiſh. and the earle, & afterward ſolemnely ratified by the Duke. The king ceaſed not to entreat ſubmiſly, & promiſe largely, and (as the nature is of men perplexed with feare) aboue his ability, & without meaſure, the earle encouraged him, and declared that the Duke before he had obtained any ayde, ſecured by his oath the ſafety of the Kings perſon. Then the King deſired to talke with the duke, which was likewiſe promiſed; & ſo the archbiſh. & the earle departed, & the king remoued to the Caſtle of Flint about 8. miles diſtant from Cheſter, to which place the Duke came to him. Here the cõtenances & words of both were noted, by them that were preſent; the King ſeemed abiect & baſe: the duke neither inſulting nor relenting, but comforting and promiſing friendly. The king repeated many benefits and kindneſſes that he had ſhewed: how in former time he had ſpared the dukes owne life, and lately his ſonnes: in regard whereof he deſired him, with ſuch ſubmiſnes as was agreable rather with his neceſsity then his honour: that he would ſhew ſome pitie where he had receiued ſuch pleaſure: and permit him to enioy his life, with ſuch priuate maintenance as was cõuenient for his eſtate. The duke put him in good comfort, promiſing him aſſuredly, that he would prouide for his ſafetie: for which he ſuffered himſelfe to be ſolemnly thanked, and thought it not much to haue it accounted a great benefit. Indeed from that time the king was kept ſafe and ſure enough, from binding any of the dukes purpoſes, neither could it ſo eaſily haue beene diſcerned what had bene beſt for him to do, as that this which he did was the very worſt: for the ſame night he was brought by the duke and his army to Cheſter, and from thence ſecretly conueyed to the Tower of London, there to be kept ſafe vntill the Parliament, which was appointed ſhortly after to be holden.

Thus the King yeelded himſelfe: the 20. day of Auguſt, being the 47. day after the Dukes arriuall: ſo that his iourneyes conſidered, from Houlderneſſe in the North to London: from thence

thence to Briſtowe,& ſo into Wales, and backe againe to Cheſter:a man ſhall not eaſily trauaile ouer the land in ſhorter time then he conquered it.So friendly was fortune vnto him,that he eyther found or made a ready paſſage through all hinderances and lets: & it ſeemed that he needed onely,to open his armes, to meet and receiue her, as ſhe offered her ſelfe vnto him. All the Kings treaſure & Iewels,with his horſes,and al his fardage came to the Dukes hands; and many that were in his companie, were afterwards alſo deſpoyled by the ſouldiers of Northumberland and Wales.

Some writers affirme,that the King did not yeeld himſelfe, but was forelaid and taken, as he was ſecretly paſſing fro Flint to Cheſter:but the authority of others who liued in that time, eyther in the plaine viewe, or certaine intelligence of theſe affaires, who for their place could not but knowe, and for their profeſſiõ would not but deliuer the very truth,hath drawn me to follow their report: which I find alſo receiued by ſome late wrighters, of as great deapth in iudgement and choyce, as any (without exception) that this age hath brought forth.

As the King was carried towards London, certaine citizens conſpired to lay themſelues in a wait by the way, and ſodainly to ſlay him; partly for priuate grieuances,& partly for the cruelty that he had vſed towards the whole city:but the Maior vpon intelligence preuented the practice, and rode forth in perſon with a cõuenient company,to conduct him ſafely vnto the tower. Shortly after the Duke came to Londõ in ſolemn eſtate, and ſent forth ſummons in the Kings name, for a Parlament to be holden at Weſtminſter,the laſt day of Septẽber, in the ſame yeare: in the meane time he deliberated with his kindred and kind friends,cõcerning the order of his proceedings. The Duke of Yorke(who a little before had been gouernour of the realm for the King &thẽ was the chiefeſt directer of the duke):thought it beſt that K. *Richard* ſhould both voluntarily reſigne, & alſo ſolemnly be depoſed,by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme: for reſignation only would be imputed to feare, and depriuation to force; wherof the one is alwaies pitied,and the other en-

uied: But if both concurre, and his desire be combined with his desert, being willing to forsake that which he is adiudged worthy to forgo, then shal it appeare, that he neither is expelled his kingdom by meere constraint, nor leaueth it without iust cause This aduice pleased the rest, and for executing thereof vpon the day of S. Michaell (which was the day before the Parlament should begin) there assembled at the Tower, *Thomas Arundell* archbish. of Canterbury. *Richard Scroupe* archbish. of Yorke, *Iohn* bishop of Hereford, *Henrie* duke of Lancaster, *Henry* earle of Northumberland, *Radulph* earle of Westmerland, L. *Hugh Burnell*, L. *Thomas Berkly*, L. *Rose*, L. *Willoughby*, L. *Abergeiny*, The Abbot of Westminster, the Priour of Canterbury, *William Thirminges*, and *Iohn Markeham* Chiefe Iustices, *Thomas Stoke*, and *Iohn Burbacke*, Doctours of Law, *T. Herpingham*, and *T. Gray* knights, *W. Ferby*, and *Dionise Lopham* publike Notaries, and diuers others either not noted, or not remembred. When all were set in their places, King *Richard* was brought foorth, apparelled in his royall robe, the diademe on his head, and the Scepter in his hand; and was placed amongst them in a chaire of estate. Neuer was Prince so gorgeous, with lesse glory and greater griefe: to whom it was not disgrace sufficient, to lose both the honour and ornaments of a King, but he must openly to his greater scorne, renounce the one, and deliuer the other. After a little pause and expectation, the King arose from his seat, and spake to the assembly these words, or the very like in effect.

I assure my selfe that some at this present, and many hereafter, will accompt my case lamentable; either that I haue deserued this dejection, if it be iust; or if it be wrongfull, that I could not auoyde it. Indeed I doe confesse that many times I haue shewed my selfe both lesse prouident, and lesse painfull for the benefit of the common-wealth, then I should, or might, or intended to doe hereafter; and haue in many actions more respected the satisfying of my owne particular humour, then either iustice to some priuat persons, or the common good of al, yet I did not at any time either omit duty or commit grieuance

vpon

vpon naturall dulneſſe or ſet malice; but partly by abuſe of corrupt counſellors, partly by errour of my youthfull iudgement. And now the remembrance of theſe ouerſightes, is ſo vnpleaſant to no man, as to my ſelfe; and the rather becauſe I haue no meanes left, either to recompence the iniuries which I haue done, or to teſtifie to the world my reformed affections, which experience and ſtayednesſe of yeares had already corrected, and would dayly haue framed to more perfection. But whether all the imputations, wherewith I am charged be true, either in ſubſtance, or in ſuch qualitie as they are laid, or whether being true they be ſo heinous, as to inforce theſe extremities, or whether any other Prince, eſpecially in the heate of youth, and in the ſpace of two and twentie yeares (the time of my vnfortunate raigne) doth, not ſometimes either for aduantage, or vpon diſpleaſure, in as deepe manner grieue ſome particular ſubiect; I will not now examine: it helpeth not to vſe defence, neither booteth it to make complaint: there is left no place for the one, nor pittie for the other: and therefore I referre it to the iudgement of God, and your leſſe diſtempered conſiderations.

I accuſe no man, I blame no fortune, I complaine of nothing: I haue no pleaſure in ſuch vaine and needleſſe comforts, and if I liſted to haue ſtood vpon termes, I know I haue great fauourers abroad; and ſome friends (I hope) at home, who would haue been ready, yea forward on my behalfe, to ſtirre vp a bloudy and doubtfull warre: but I eſteeme not my dignitie at ſo high a prize, as the hazard of ſo greate valure, the ſpilling of ſo much Engliſh bloud, and the ſpoile and waſte of ſo flouriſhing a Realme, as thereby might haue beene occaſioned. Therefore that the common wealth may rather riſe by my fall, then I ſtand by the ruine thereof, I willingly yeeld to your deſires, and am heere come to diſpoſſeſſe my ſelfe to all publike authoritie and title, and to make it free and lawfull for you to create for your King, *Henrie* Duke of Lancaſter my couſin germaine, whom I know to be as worthy to

take that place, as I see you willing to giue it to him.

Then he read openly and distinctly the forme of his cession, wherein hee did declare, that hee had discharged his subiects, from their oathes of fealty and homage, and all other oathes whatsoeuer; and of his own will and free motion, did abdicate the title, dignitie, and authoritie of a King: and rendred vp the possession of the Realme, with the vse and title thereof, and all the rights thereunto apperteining. To this the King subscribed and was sworne: and then hee deliuered with his owne hands the Crowne, the Scepter, and the Robe to the Duke of Lancaster; wishing vnto him more happinesse therewith, then had euer happened vnto himselfe. Then he did constitute the Archbishop of Yorke, and the Bishop of Hereford his procurators, to intimate and declare this his resignation to all the states of the realme, which should be assembled together in Parlament. Lastly he gaue all his riches and goods, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coyne, besides his Iewels & plate, for satisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, desiring the Duke, & all the rest that were present seuerally by their names not altogether to forget that he had beene their King, nor yet too much to thinke vpon the same; but to retaine of him a moderate remembrance; and in recompence of the ease that hee had done them by his voluntary yeelding, to permit him to liue safely, in a priuate and obscure life: with the sweetnesse wherof he was so possessed, that frō thenceforth he would preferre it, before any preferment in the world. All this was deliuered and done by the King, with voyce and countenance so agreeable to his present heauinesse, that there was no man too vnmindefull of humane instabilitie, which was not in some measure mooued thereat: insomuch as a fewe secret teares melted from the eyes of many that were present, in whose mindes a confused and obscure alteration alreadie ganne to beginne. So prone and inclinable are men to pitie miserie, although they haue procured it, and to enuie prosperie, euen that which they haue raysed.

Vpon

Vpon munday next following the Parlament began at Weſtminſter; and the Archbiſhop of Yorke and the Biſhop of Hereford (the kings Atturneyes for this purpoſe) declared openly to the ſtates there aſſembled, the Kings voluntary reſignation; and demaunded whether they would aſſent and agree therevnto? the Barons of the realme by ſeuerall and particular conſent, the commons with one generall voyce, did expreſly accept and admit the ſame. Then it was thought meet that certaine defects and miſdemeanures concerning matters of gouemment, ſhould be obiected againſt the King: for which he ſhould be adiudged as vnworthy, as he ſeemed vnwilling to reteine the kingdome. To this purpoſe certaine articles were engroſſed, and openly read: in which was conteyned, how vnprofitable the King had been to the realme; how vniuſt and grieuous to the ſubiectes: contrary both to his honour, and to his oath. The chiefeſt of which Articles are theſe that follow.

1 FIrſt that King *Richard* did waſtefully ſpend the treaſure of the realme, and had giuen the poſſeſſion of the crowne, to men vnworthy, by reaſon whereof, new charges were dayly laide on the necks of the poore comminaltie.

2 Item, where diuers Lords as well ſpirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of Parliament, to commune and treate of matters concerning the ſtate of the realme, and the common wealth of the ſame, they being buſied about the ſame commiſſion he with others of his affinitie went about to impeache them of treaſon.

3 Item, that by force and menace, he compelled the Iuſtices of the realme at Shrewsbury to condiſcend to his opinion for the deſtruction of the ſaid Lords: Inſomuch as hee began to raiſe warre, againſt *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, *Thomas* Earle of Arundel, *Richard* Earle of Warwicke, & other Lords contrary to his honour and promiſe.

4 Item, that he cauſed his vnckle the Duke of Glouce-

ſter to be arreſted without lawe, and ſent him to Calice, and there without iudgement murthered him: and although the Earle of Arundell vpon his arraignement, pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile and ſhameſull manner ſodainly put to death.

5 Item, he aſſembled certaine Lancaſhire and Cheſhire men, to the intent to make warre on the aforeſaid Lords, and ſuffered them to robbe and ſpoile, without correction and reproofe.

6 Item, that although the king flatteringly and with great diſsimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the Lords aforenamed were not attached for any crime of treaſon, but onely for extortions and oppreſſions doone within the realme, yet he laid to them in the Parlament rebellion with manifeſt treaſon.

7 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the ſaid Lords ſeruants by menace, to make great fines & extreme payments, to their vtter vndooing: and notwithſtanding his pardon to them graunted, he made them fine a new.

8 Item, where diuers were appointed to commune of the eſtate of the realme, & the common wealth of the ſame, the king cauſed al the roules & records to be kept frō them, contrary to his promiſe made in parlament, to his opē diſhonor.

9 Item, he vncharitably commaunded that no man vpon paine of loſſe of life and goods, ſhould once intreate him for the returne of *Henrie* now duke of Lancaſter.

10 Item, where the realme is houlden of God and not of the Pope, or any other Prince, the ſaid king *Richard*, after he had obteyned diuers acts of Parlament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then he procured Bulles and extreme cenſures from Rome to compell all men ſtreightly to keepe the ſame, contrary to the honour and auncient priuiledges of this realme.

11 Item, although the Duke of Lancaſter had done his deuoyre againſt *Thomas* Duke of Northfolke, in proofe of his

his quarrell, yet the ſaid king without reaſon or ground, baniſhed him the realme for ten yeares, contrary to all equity.

12 Item, before the Dukes departure, he vnder his broad Seale, licenſed him to make Atturneys, to proſecute and defend his cauſes: the ſaid King after his departure, would ſuffer none Atturney to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleaſure.

13 Item, the ſaid King put out diuers Shiriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomes divers others of his owne minions, ſubuerting the lawe, contrarie to his oath and honour.

14 Item, he borrowed great ſummes of money, and bound himſelfe under his Letters patents for the repayment of the ſame, and yet not one penny paid.

15 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappy counſaile, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittaile and viand.

16 Item, he ſaid that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and ſometimes in his breaſt: by reaſon of which phantaſticall opinion, he deſtroyed noblemen, and impoveriſhed the poore commons.

17 Item, the parlament ſetting and enacting divers notable ſtatutes, for the profit and advancement of the common wealth, he by his priuy friends and ſolicitors, cauſed to be enacted, that no acte then enacted ſhould be more preiudicial to him then it was to his predeceſſors: thorow which *proviſo*, he did often as he liſt, and not as the law meant.

18 Item, for to ſerve his purpoſe, hee would ſuffer the Shiriffes of the ſhires, to remaine aboue one yeare or two in their office.

19 Item, at the ſummons of parlament, when the Knights and Burgeſſes ſhould be elect, and the election had fully proceeded, he put out divers perſons elected and put in others in their places, to ſerue his will and appetite.

20 Item, hee had priuie eſpialls in euery Shire, to heare

who had of him any communication, and if he communed of his laſciuious liuing, and outragious dooing, he ſtraightwayes was apprehended and made a grieuous fine.

21 Item, the ſpiritualtie alledged againſt him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſide Plate and Iewels, without lawe or cuſtome, contrary to his oath taken at his coronation.

22 Item, when diuers Lords and Iuſtices were ſworne to ſay the trueth, of diuers things to them committed in charge, both for the honour of the realme, and profit of the king, the ſaid king ſo menaced them with ſore threatnings, that no man would or durſt ſay the right.

23 Item, that without the aſſent of the Nobilitie, he caryed the Iewels and Plate, and treaſure, ouer the ſea into Ireland; to the great impoueriſhing of the realme; and all the good records of the common wealth againſt his extortions, he cauſed priuily to be embeaſeled and carried away.

24 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded and ſent to the ſea of Rome, and other regions, his writing was ſo ſubtill and darke, that no other Prince durſt once belieue him, not yet his owne ſubiects.

25 Item, he moſt tyrannouſly and vnprincely ſaid, that the liues and goods of all his ſubiects, were in the Princes hands, and at his diſpoſition.

26 Item, that he contrary to the great Charter of England, cauſed diuers luſtie men to appeale diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court Marciall, becauſe that in that court is no tryall but onely by battaile: whereby the ſaid aged perſons fearing the ſequell of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercy, whom he fined and ranſomed vnreaſonably at his pleaſure.

27 Item, he craftily deuiſed certaine priuie oathes, contrary to lawe, and cauſed diuers of his ſubiects, firſt to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bound them in bands for ſurer keeping the ſame, to the great vndooing of many

honeſt

honeſt men.

28 Item, where the Chancellour according to lawe, would in no wiſe graunt a prohibition to a certaine perſon, the King graunted it vnto the ſame perſon vnder his priuie ſeale, with great threatnings if it ſhould be diſobeyed.

29 Item, he baniſhed the Biſhop of Canterburie, without cauſe or iudgement, and kept him in the Parlament Chamber with men of armes.

30 Item, the Biſhops goods he graunted to his ſucceſſor, vpon condition that he ſhould maintaine all his ſtatutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno 21. and the ſtatutes made, Anno 22. at Couentree.

31 Item, vpon the accuſation of the Archbiſhop, the king craftily perſwaded the ſaid Biſhop to make no anſwer, for he would be his warrant, and aduiſed him not to come to the Parlament; and ſo without anſwere he was condemned and exiled, and his goods ſeazed. Foure other Articles were laide, which particularly did concerne the ſaid Archbiſhop, by whoſe dooing chiefly the King was vtterly vndone.

Then was demaunded of the Nobility and commons of the realme, what they iudged both of the trueth and deſert of theſe Articles? who all agreed that the crimes were notorious, and that king *Richard* was worthy for the ſame to be depoſed from his princely dignitie. The noble men gaue their voyces, part corrupted by fauour, part awed by feare: and the commons are commonly like a flocke of Cranes, as one dooth flye all will follow. Herevpon Commiſſioners were appointed by both ths houſes; who pronounced ſentence of depoſition againſt king *Richard*, in manner and forme as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen. We Iohn *Biſhop of S. Aſſes, I. Abbot of Glaſtenburie,* Thom. *Earle of Glouceſter,* Thom. *Lord Berkley,* Thom. Erpinghame, Thom Graye *Knights:* Will. Therninge *Iuſtice, Commiſſioners for the matters here-*

after ſpecified, by the Lords ſpiritual & temporal of the realme of England, and the Commons of the ſaid realme, repreſenting all the ſtates of the ſaid Kingdome, ſpecially deputed, ſitting in ſeate of iudgement, and conſidering the manifold iniuries, and cruelties, and many other crimes and offences by Richard late King of the ſaide realme, committed and doone, contrary to good gouernment, in the realmes and dominions aforeſaide, during the time of his raigne: alſo conſidering the articles which were openly exhibited & red before the ſaid ſtates, which were ſo publicke, notorious, manifeſt and famous, that they could nor can by no auoydance and ſhift be concealed: alſo conſidering the confeſſion of the ſaide King, acknowledging and reputing and truely vpon his certaine knowledge iudging himſelfe to haue been and to be altogether inſufficient & vnskilfull, for the rule and gouernment of the realmes and dominions aforeſaid, and of any parts of them, & not vnworthy to be depoſed, for the notorious demerits, by the ſaid Richard firſt acknowledged, and afterward by his will and mandate, before the ſaid ſtates publiſhed, and to them opened and declared in the Engliſh tongue. Vpon theſe & other matters which were done concerning the ſame buſines, before the ſaid States & vs, by the diligent place, name and authority to vs in this part cammitted, in abounndance and for a cautele we pronounce, decree and declare, the ſaide Richard, to haue been and to be vnprofitable and vnable, and altogether vnſufficient and vnworthie for the rule and gouernement of the ſaid realmes, and of the dominions, rights and parts of them: and in regard and reſpect of the premiſes, worthily to be depoſed from all kingly dignity and honour (if any ſuch dignity and honour remaineth in him) and for the like cautele we doe depoſe him by our ſentence diſinitiue, in this writing: inhibiting from henceforth expreſly, all and ſingular Lords, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Dukes, Marqueſſes and Earles, Barons, Knights, Vaſſalles, and all other perſons whatſoeuer, of the ſaid realmes and dominions, & other places to the ſaid realms and dominions appertaining, the ſubiects and liege people of the ſame, and euery of them, that from henceforth none obey, or in-

tend to obey the aforeſaid Richard, *as King or Lord of the realmes and dominions aforeſaid.*

Then the ſame Commiſſioners were by the conſent and ſuffrages of both houſes, conſtituted procurators, ioyntlye and ſeuerally for all the ſtates of the realme; to reſigne and ſurrender vnto King *Richard*, for them and all other homages of the realme, all the homages and fealties which were both due and doone vnto him, as King and Soueraigne, and alſo to declare vnto him all the premiſes, concerning his depoſition. Now *Henrie* Duke of Lancaſter, that he might be reputed, or reported at the leaſt, not to attaine the kingdom by intruſion and wrong, was counſailed by his friends, to pretend ſome lawfull challenge and claime therevnto: and being in power, it was no ſooner aduiſed what was to bee doone, but it was preſently deuiſed how to doe it. So a title was drawne from *Edmund*, ſonne to King *Henrie* the third, whom they ſurnamed Crouch-backe: affirming that he was the eldeſt ſonne of King *Henrie*, and that for his deformity, he was put from his right of ſucceſſion in the kingdome; which was for that cauſe giuen to his younger brother, King *Edward* the third: to this *Edmund* the Duke was next of bloud by his mother *Blanche*, ſole daughter and heyre to *Henrie* the firſt Duke of Lancaſter, and ſonne to the ſaid *Edmund*. This cunning conceit was perceiued of all men, but ſeeming not to perceiue it, was a point of friendſhip in ſome, & of obedience in the reſt: therfore the kingdome of England being then thought vacant, both by the reſignation, and alſo by the depoſition of King *Richard*: Duke *Henrie* aroſe from his ſeate, and ſtanding in the view of the Lords, croſſed himſelfe on the forehead, and on the breſt, and ſpake as followeth.

In the name of God Amen: I Henrie *of Lancaſter, claime the realme of England, & the crowne, with all the appurtenances as I that am deſcended by right line of the bloud royall, cõming from that good Lord K.* Henrie *the third, & through the right*

h.t

that God of his grace hath ſent mee, with the helpe of my kindred and of my friends, to recouer the ſame: Which kingdome was in point to be vndone, for default of good gouernment and due iuſtice.

After theſe wordes, it was demaunded in both houſes, of the Nobility & of the commons which were aſſembled, whether they did conſent that the duke ſhould raigne? who all with one voyce, acknowledged and accepted him for their King: then the Archbiſhop of Canterbury tooke him by the hand, and placed him in the throane of eſtate, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke aſſiſting him, and all the aſſemblie teſtifying their owne ioy, and wiſhing his. Then the Archbiſhop made an oration, and tooke for his theame, this place of Scripture: *See; this is the man whom I ſpake to thee of, this ſame ſhall raigne ouer my people*, 1 Reg. 9. 17. After all this he was proclaimed King of England, and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland: and the common people which is voide of cares, not ſearching into ſequels, but without difference of right or wrong inclinable to follow thoſe that are mighty, with ſhoutes and clamours gaue their applauſe, not all vpon iudgement, or faithfull meaning, but moſt onely vpon a receiued cuſtome to flatter the Prince whatſoeuer he be. Yet leaſt the heat of this humour ſhould allay by delay, it was forthwith proclaimed in the great Hall, that vpon the 13. day of September next enſuing, the Coronation of the King ſhould be celebrated at Weſtminſter. Theſe matters being thus diſpatched, the King proclaimed, aroſe from his ſeate, and went to WhiteHall: where he ſpent the reſt of the day in royall feaſting, and all other complements of ioy: notwithſtanding there appeared in him no token of ſtatelyneſſe or pride, nor any change in ſo great a change.

Vpon Wedneſday next following, the procurators, before mentioned, went to the preſence of King Richard, being within the Tower; and declared vnto him the admiſſion of his reſignation, and alſo the order and forme of his depoſition:

ſition: and in the name of all the ſtates of the realme, did ſurrender the homage and fealty which had beene due vnto him; ſo that no man from thence foorth would beare to him faith and obedience, as to their King. The King anſwered that he nothing reguarded theſe titular circumſtances, but contented himſelfe with hope, that his couſen would be a gracious Lord, and good friend vnto him.

So vpon the 13. day of October, which was the day of the tranſlation of Edward the Confeſſour, the Duke was with all accuſtomed ſolemnities, by the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, ſacred, annointed and crowned King at Weſtminſter, by the name of King *Henry* the fourth: vpon the very ſame day, wherein the yeare before he had beene baniſhed the Realme. Hee was annoynted with an oyle, which a certaine religious man gaue vnto *Henry* the firſt Duke of Lancaſter (Grandfather to the King by the mothers ſide) when he ſerued in the warres of King *Edward* the third, beyond the ſeas; together with this Propheſie; that the Kinges which ſhould bee annoynted therewith, ſhould bee the Champions of the Church. Duke *Henry* deliuered this oyle in a golden violl to Prince *Edward*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Edward* the third; who locked vp the ſame in a barred cheſt within the Tower, with intent to be annoynted therewith, when he ſhould be crowned King: but the Prince dying before his Father, it remained there, eyther not remembred, or not regarded, vntill this preſent yeare; wherein the King, being vpon his voyage into Ireland, and making diligent ſearch for the iewells and monumentes of his progenitours, found this violl and Propheſie: and vnderſtanding the ſecret, was deſirous to bee annoynted againe with that oyle: but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury perſwaded him, that both the fact was vnlawfull, and the precedent vnſeene, that a King ſhould bee annoynted twice: whereupon he brake off that purpoſe, and tooke the violl with him into Ireland: and

when hee yeelded himſelfe at Flint, the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye demaunded it of him againe, and did receaue and reſerue the ſame, vntill the coronation of King *Henry*; who was the firſt King of this realme, that was annoynted therewith.

I am not purpoſed to diſcourſe, eyther of the authoritye, or of the certaintye of theſe propheſies: but wee may eaſily obſerue, that the greateſt part of them, eyther altogether fayled, or were fulfilled in another ſence, then as they were commonly conſtrued and taken. During the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth, execution by fire was firſt put in practiſe within this Realme, for controuerſies in poynts of religion: in any other extraordinarye matter, hee did as much make the Church champion, as ſhew himſelfe a champion of the Church: but afterwardes his ſucceſſours were intituled *Defenders of the fayth:* and how in action they verifyed the ſame, I referre to remembrance and report of later times.

Now it had beene conſidered, that the tytle which was deriued to King *Henry*, from *Edmund*, whome they ſurnamed Crouchbacke, would bee taken but for a blynde and idle ieſt: for that it was notorious that the ſayd *Edmund* was neither eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry* the thyrd (as it was plainely declared by an acte of Parlament) nor yet a miſhapen and deformed perſon: but a goodly Gentleman, and valiaunt commaunder in the field, and ſo faucured of the King his Father, that hee gaue him both the heritages and honours of *Simone Mountfort* Earle of Leiceſter, of *Ferrare* Earle of Darby, and of *Iohn* Baron of Monmuthe, who to theyr owne ruine and deſtruction, had diſplaied ſeditious enſignes againſt the King. And further to aduance him to the marriage of *Blanch* Queene of Nauerne, he created him the firſt Earle of Lancaſter, and gaue vnto him the coun-

ty,

ty, caſtle, and towne of Lancaſter, with the Forreſtes of Wireſdale, Lounſdale, Newcaſtle beneath Linne, the Manner, Caſtle and Forreſt of Pickering, the Manner of Scaleby, the towne of Gomeceſter, of Huntendone, &c. with many large priuiledges, and high titles of honour.

Therefore King *Henry* vpon the day of his Coronation, cauſed to be proclaimed, that he claimed the Kingdome of England, firſt by right of conqueſt: Secondly, becauſe King *Richard* had reſigned his eſtate, and deſigned him for his ſucceſſour: Laſtly, becauſe he was of the bloud royall, and next heyre male vnto King *Richard*.

Hæres malus indeed (quoth *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of March vnto his ſecret friends) and ſo is the Pyrate to the Marchant, when he deſpoyleth him of all that hee hath. This *Edmund* was ſonne to *Roger Mortimer* who was not long before ſlaine in Ireland, and had beene openly declared heyre apparent to the Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue; as deſcended by his Mother *Philip*, from Lionell Duke of Clarence, who was elder brother to *Iohn* Duke of Lancaſter, King *Henries* Father: and therfore the ſaid *Edmund* thought himſelfe, and in deed was, neerer heyre male to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, then he that by colour of right, clayming it, carried it by dynt of force.

But ſuch was the condition of the time, that hee ſuppoſed it was vaine, for him to ſtirre, where King *Richard* could not ſtand: Wherevpon he diſſembled, eyther that hee ſaw his wrong, or that he regarded it; and choſe rather to ſuppreſſe his title for a time, then by vntimely oppoſing himſelfe, to haue it oppreſſed and depreſſed for euer: to this ende he withdrewe himſelfe farre from London, to his Lordſhippe of Wigmore, in the Weſt partes of the realme, and there ſetled himſelfe to a priuate and cloſe life: Idlenes and vacancy from publike affayres, he accompted a vertue, and a deepe point of wiſedome to meddle with

nothing, whereof no man was chargeable to yeeld a reckoning. In reuenues he was meane, in apparell moderate, in company and traine not exceſſiue,(yet in all theſe honourable and according to his degree)ſo that they which eſteemed men by outward appearance only, could ſee in him no great ſhew, eyther of wit and courage in his minde to bee feared, or of wealth and honour in his eſtate to be enuyed. And thus whileſt a greater enemie was feared, he paſſed vnregarded; making himſelfe ſafe by contempt, where nothing was ſo dangerous as a good opinion; and raking vp theſe coales in obſcuritie for a time, which ſhortly after ſet all the realme on fire.

King *Henrie* preſently after his coronation, created his eldeſt ſonne Lord *Henrie*, being then about xiii. yeares of age, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, and Earle of Cheſter, and ſoone after he created him alſo Duke of Aquitaine. Afterwardes it was enacted, by conſent of all the ſtates of the realme, aſſembled together in the Parlament, that the inheritance of the Crownes and Realmes of England and of Fraunce, and of all the dominions to them appertaining, ſhould be vnited and remaine in the perſon of King *Henrie*, and in the heyres of his body lawfully begotten: and that Prince *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne, ſhould bee his heyre apparant, and ſucceſſour in the premiſes: and if he ſhould dye without lawfull iſſue, then they were entayled to his other ſonnes ſucceſſiuely in order, and to the heyres of their bodyes lawfully begotten.

The inheritance of the Kingdome being in this ſorte ſettled in King *Henrie* and in his line, it was mooued in the Parliament what ſhould be done with King *Richard*. The Biſhop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wiſe, and one that alwayes vſed both libertie and conſtancie in a good cauſe; in his ſecret iudgement did neuer giue allowance to theſe proceedings: yet diſſembled his diſlike vntil he might to ſome purpoſe declare it: therefore now being

All

in place to be heard of all, and by order of the houſe, to be interrupted by none, hee roſe vp and with a bold and preſent ſpirit, vttered his minde as followeth.

This queſtion (right honourable Lordes) concerneth a matter of great conſequence and weight: the determining wherof will aſſuredly procure, eyther ſafe quiet, or daungerous diſturbance, both to our particular conſciences, and alſo to the common ſtate. Therefore before you reſolue vppon it, I pray you call to your conſiderations theſe two things: Firſt, whether King *Richard* be ſufficiently depoſed or no: Secondly, whether King *Henrie* be with good iudgement or iuſtice choſen in his place. For the firſt point we are firſt to examine, whether a king, being lawfully and fully inſtituted by any iuſt title, may vpon imputation eyther of negligence, or of tirannie, be depoſed by his ſubiects: Secondly, what King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he ſhould deſerue ſo heauie iudgement. I will not ſpeake what may be doone in a popular ſtate, or in a conſular; in which although one beareth the name and honour of a Prince, yet he hath not ſupreme power of Maieſtie; but in the one, the people haue the higheſt Empire; in the other, the Nobilitie, and chiefe men of eſtate; in neyther, the Prince. Of the firſt ſorte was the common wealth of the Lacedæmonians, who after the forme of gouernement which *Licurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their Kings, and ſometimes condemned them to death: ſuch were alſo in *Cæſars* time, the pettie Kings of euery Citie in Fraunce; who were many times arreigned vpon life and death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of the *Leodienſes* confeſſed) had no greater power ouer the people, then the people had ouer them. Of the ſecond condition were the Romaine Emperours at the firſt; of whome ſome, namely, *Nero* and *Maximinus* were openly condemned, others were ſodainly ſur-

Tranquil. in Caligula. Tacitus, in proœmio.

ſurprized by iudgement, and authoritie of the Senate: and ſuch are now the Emperours of Germany, whome the other Princes by their Ariſtocraticall power, doe not onely reſtrayne, but ſometimes alſo remooue from theyr imperiall ſtate: ſuch are alſo the Kinges of Denmarke, and Sweueland, who are many times by the nobilitye deiected, eyther into pryſon, or into exile: ſuch likewiſe are the Dukes of Venice, and of ſome other free ſtates in Italy: and the chiefeſt cauſe for which *Lewes* Earle of Flaunders was lately expelled from his place, was for drawing to himſelfe cogniſance in matters of life and death, which high power never pertayned to his dignitie.

In theſe and ſuch like gouernments, the Prince hath not regall rightes, but is himſelfe ſubiect to that power which is greater then his, whether it be in the nobility or in the common people. But if the SoueraigneMaieſty be in the Prince, as it was in the three firſt Empires, and in the Kingdomes of Iudea and Iſraell; and is now in the kingdomes of England, Fraunce, Spaine, Scotland, Muſcouia, Turky, Tartaria, Perſia, Æthiopia, and almoſt all the Kingdomes of Aſia and Africke: although for his vices he be vnprofitable to the ſubiectes, yea hurtfull, yea intollerable: yet can they lawfully neither harme his perſon, nor hazard his power, whether by iudgement, or elſe by force: for neyther one, nor all Magiſtrates haue any authority ouer the Prince, from whome all authority is deriued, and whoſe onely preſence doeth ſilence, and ſuſpend all inferiour iuriſdiction and power. As for force, what ſubiecte can attempt, or aſſiſt, or counſaile, or conceale violence againſt his Prince, and not incurre the high and heynous crime of treaſon?

It is a common ſaying, thought is free: free indeede from puniſhment of ſecular lawes, except by worde or deed

deed it breake foorth into action: Yet the ſecret thoughts againſt the ſacred maieſty of a Prince, without attempt, without endeuour, haue beene adiudged worthy of death: and ſome who in auriculer confeſſion, haue diſcouered their treacherous deuiſes againſt the perſon of their Prince, haue afterwardes beene executed for the ſame. All lawes doe exempt a madde man from puniſhment: becauſe theyr actions are not gouerned by theyr will and purpoſe: and the will of man being ſet aſide, all his doings are indifferent; neyther can the body offend without a corrupt or erronious minde: yet if a mad man draw his ſword vpon his king it hath beene adiudged to deſerue death. And leſt any man ſhould ſurmiſe that Princes, for the maintenance of theyr owne ſafety and ſoueraignety, are the onely authors of theſe iudgements; let vs a little conſider the patternes and precepts of holy Scripture. *Nebuchadnezzar* King of Aſſyria waſted all Paleſtine with fire and ſword, oppugned Hieruſalem a long time, and at the laſt expugned it: ſlue the King: burnt the Temple: tooke away the holy Veſſells and treaſure: the reſt hee permitted to the cruelty and ſpoile of his vnmerciſull ſouldiers: who defiled all places with rape and ſlaughter, and ruinated to the ground that flouriſhing Citty: after the glut of this bloudy burchery, the people which remayned, he led Captiue into Chaldæa: and there erected his golden Image, and commanded that they which refuſed to worſhip it, ſhould bee caſt into a fiery furnace.

What cruelty, what iniuſtice, what impiety is comparable to this? and yet God calleth *Nebuchadnezzar* his ſeruant, and promiſeth him hyre and wadges for his ſeruice: and the Prophetes *Ieremiah* and *Baruch* did wryte vnto the Iewes to praye for the life of him, and of *Baltazar* his Sonne, that theyr dayes myght bee vppon earth as the dayes of Heauen: and *Ezechiel* with

Ierem. 25 9. Ezech. 29. 18. Ierem 29 7. Baruch. 1. 11.

with bitter termes abhorreth the disloialty of *Zedechia*, because he reuolted from *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose homager and tributay he was. What shall we say of *Saul?* did he not put all the Priests to execution, because one of them did relieue holy and harmelesse *Dauid?* did he not violently persecute that his most faithful seruant and dutifull sonne in law? during which pursuit, he fel twice into the power of *Dauid*; who did not onely spare, but also protect the King, and reprooued the Pretorian souldiers for their negligent watch, and was touched in heart for cutting away the lappe of his garment: and afterwards caused the messenger to be slaine, who vpon request & for pitty, had lent his hand (as he said) to help forward the voluntary death of that sacred king. As for the contrary examples: as that of *Iehu* who slew *Iehoram* and *Ahazia*, Kings of Israel and Iuda: they were done by expresse oracle & reuelation from God, and are no more set down for our imitation, then the robbing of the Ægyptians, or any other particular and priuiledged commandement, but in the general precept, which all men must ordinarily follow, not only our actions, but our speeches also, & our very thoghtes are strictly charged with duty and obedience vnto Princes, whether they be good or euill, the law of God ordaineth: *that he which doth presumptuously against the ruler of the people shall dye:* and the Prophet *Dauid* forbiddeth, to touch the Lords annointed. *Thou shalt not* (saith the Lord) *raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill against the ruler of the people.* And the Apostles do demand further that euen our thoughtes and soules bee obedient to higher powers. And least any should imagine that they meant of good Princes onely, they speake generally of all; and further

So did *Domitian* put to death *Epaphroditus, Neroes* libertine, because he helped *Nero* (although in loue) to kill himselfe. So did *Seuerus* kill all the killers of *Pertinax* his predecessour: and likewise *Vitellius* did put to death all the murtherers of *Galba*. *Theophilus* Emperour of Grecia caused all those to be slaine, who had made his Father Emperour, by killing *Leo Armenius*. And *Alexander* the great put to cruell execution, those that had slaine *Darius*, his mighty and mortall enemy.

Deut. 17. 12.
Psal. 105.
Exod. 22. 28.
Act. 23 5.
Rom. 3. 1. 13.
Tit 3. 1.
1. Pet. 2. 13, 14 17.
2. Tim. 2. 2.

ther to take away all doubt, they may expreſſe mention of the euill. For the power and authoritie of wicked princes is the ordinance of god; & therfore Chriſt told Pilate, that the power which he had was giuen him from aboue: and the Prophet *Eſay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a Prophane and heathen Prince, the Lords anoynted. For God ſtirreth vp the ſpirit euen of wicked Princes to doe his willl; and (as *Iehoſhaphat* ſaid to his rulers) they execute not the Iudgement of man, but of the Lord: in regard whereof *Dauid* calleth them Gods; becauſe they haue their rule and authority immedyatly from God: which if they abuſe, they are not to be adiudged by their ſubiects, for no power within their dominion is ſuperior to theirs: but God reſerueth them to the ſoreſt tryall: *Horribly and ſodainly* (ſaith the Wiſeman) *will the Lord appeare vnto them, and a hard iudgement ſhall they haue.*

Rom. 13. 2. Iohn 19. 11. Cap. 45. 1. 2 Chro. 36. 22 2 Chron 19. 6. Pſal. 28. Sap. 6.

The law of God commandeth, that the Childe ſhould be put to death, for any contumely done vnto the parents: but what if the Father be a robber? if a murtherer? if for all exceſſe of villanyes, odious and execrable both to God and man? ſurely hee deſerueth the higheſt degree of puniſhment, and yet muſt not the Sonne lift vp his hand againſt him, for no offence is ſo great as to be puniſhed by parricide: but our country is deerer vnto vs then our parentes: and the Prince is *pater patriæ*, the Father of our Country: and therefore more ſacred and deere vnto vs, then our parentes by nature, and muſt not be violated, how imperious, how impious ſo euer hee bee: doth he commaund or demaund, our perſons or our purſes, we muſt not ſhunne for the one, nor ſhrinke for the other: for (as *Nehemiah* ſaith) *Kinges haue dominion ouer the bodyes and ouer the cattle of their ſubiects, at their pleaſure.* Doth he enioyne thoſe actions which are contrary to the lawes of God? we muſt neyther wholy obey, nor violently reſiſt, but with a conſtant courage ſubmit our ſelues to all manner of puniſhment, and ſhewe our

Quintil. in declam. Cic. offic. lib. 1. Nehem. 9. 37.

subiection by enduring, and not performing: yea the Church hath declared it to bee an heresie, to hold that a Prince may bee slaine or deposed by his subiectes, for any disorder or default, eyther in life, or else in gouernment, there will be faultes so long as there are men: and as wee endure with patience a barren yeere, if it happen, and vnseasonable weather, and such other defectes of nature, so must wee tollerate the imperfections of rulers, and quietlye expecte, eyther reformation, or else a change.

Alphons. a cast in lib. de hæresi in verb. Tyrannus. Dom. Soto lib. 5. de iust. et iur. q. 1. artic 3.

But alas good King *Richard*, what such cruelty? what such impiety hath he euer committed? examine rightly those imputations which are layde against him, without any false circumstance of aggrauation, and you shall finde nothing obiected, eyther of any truth, or of great moment. It may bee that many errours and ouersightes haue escaped him, yet none so grieuous to bee termed tyranny; as proceeding rather from vnexperienced ignorance, or corrupt counsaile, then from any naturall and wilfull mallice. Oh, howe shall the world be pestered with tyrantes, if subiectes may rebell vppon euery pretence of tyranny? howe many good Princes shall daylye bee suppressed by those, by whome they ought to bee supported? if they leauie a subsedy, or any other taxation, it shall be claymed oppression: if they put any to death for traytercus attempts against theyr persons, it shall bee exclaymed cruelty: if they doe any thing against the lust and liking of the people, it shall be proclaymed tyrannie.

But let it be, that without authority in vs, or desert in him, king *Richard* must be deposed: yet what right had the Duke of Lancaster to the Crowne? or what reason haue we without his right to giue it to him? if he make title as heyre vnto king *Richard*, then must he yet stay vntill King *Richards* death; for no man can succeed as heyre to one that liueth,

liueth. But it is well knowne to all men, who are not eyther wilfully blind or groſely ignorant, that there are ſome now aliue, lineally deſcended from Lionell Duke of Clarence, whoſe offſpring was by iudgement of the high court of Parlament holden the viii. yeare of the raigne of king *Richard*, declared next ſucceſſour to the Crowne, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould dye without iſſue. Concerning the tytle from *Edmund Crouchbacke*, I will paſſe it ouer, ſeeing the authors thereof are become aſhamed of ſo abſurde abuſe, both of their owne knowledge, and our credulity, and therefore all the clayme is now made, by right of conqueſt; by the ceſſion and grant of King *Richard*; and by the generall conſent of all the people. It is a bad wooll that can take no colour: but what conqueſt can a ſubiecte pretend againſt his Soueraigne, where the war is inſurrection, and the victory high and heynous treaſon? as for the reſignation which King *Richard* made, being a pent priſoner for the ſame cauſe; it is an acte exacted by force: and therefore of no force and validity to binde him: and ſeeing that by the lawes of this land, the King alone cannot alieanate, the auncient iewels and ornaments partaining to the Crowne, ſurely hee cannot giue away the Crowne it ſelfe, and therewithall the kingdome.

Neither haue we any cuſtome, that the people at pleaſure ſhould electe their king: but they are alwayes bound vnto him, who by right of bloud is right ſucceſſour, much leſſe can they confirme and make good that title, which is before by violence vſurped: for nothing can then be freely doone, when liberty is once reſtrained by feare. So did *Scilla* by terrour of his Legions, obtaine the lawe of *Velleia* to bee made, whereby hee was created dictator for foureſcore yeeres: and by like impreſſion of feare, *Cæſar* cauſed the law *Seruia* to be promulged, by which he was made perpetuall dictator: but both theſe lawes were afterwards adiudged void. As for the depoſing of K. *Edward* the 2. it is no more

to be vrged, then the poyſoning of King *Iohn*, or the murdering of any other good and lawfull Prince: we muſt liue according to lawes, and not to examples: and yet the kingdome was not then taken from the lawful ſucceſſour. But if we looke back to times lately paſt, we ſhall finde that theſe titles were more ſtronge in King *Stephen*, then they are in the Duke of Lancaſter. for King *Henry* the firſt being at large liberty, neither reſtrained in body, nor conſtrained in minde, had appoynted him to ſucceed: (as it was vpon good credit, certainely affirmed,) The people aſſented to this deſignement; and thereupon without feare, and without force, he was annointed King, and obtained full poſſeſſion of the realme. Yet *Henry* (Sonne of the Earle of *Anjowe*) hauing a neerer right by his mother to the Crowne, (notwithſtanding his father was a ſtranger & himſelfe born beyond the ſeas) rayſed ſuch rough warres vpon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of ſpoyling the goods and ſpilling the bloud of the vnhappy people, beſides the ruynes and deformities of many Cities and holdes; vntill his lawful inheritance was to him aſſured. It terrifieth me to remember how many flouriſhing Empires, & kingdomes haue bin by meanes of ſuch contentions either torne in pieces with deteſtiue diuiſion, or ſubdued to forren Princes, vnder pretence of aſſiſtance and ayde: and I need not repeate howe ſore this Realme hath heretofore beene ſhaken with theſe ſeuerall miſchieues: and yet neither the examples of other countries, nor the miſeries of our own, are ſufficient to make vs to beware.

O Engliſh men, worſe bewitched then the fooliſh Galathians; our vnſtayed mindes and reſtleſſe reſolutions, doe nothing elſe but hunt after our owne harmes: no people haue more hated abroad, and none leſſe quiet at home: in other countries the ſword of inuaſion hath been ſhaken againſt vs: in our owne land, the fire of inſurrection hath bin kindled among vs: & what are theſe innouations, but whetſtones

ſtones to ſharpen the one, and bellowes to blow vp the other.

Certainely I feare that the ſame will happen vnto vs which *Æſop* fableth to haue been fallen vnto the Frogges; who being deſirous to haue a King, a beame was giuen vnto them: the firſt fall whereof did put them in ſome feare, but when they ſaw it lye ſtill in the ſtreame, they inſulted thereon with great contempt, and deſired a King of quicker courage: then was ſent vnto them a Storke, which ſtolking among them with ſtately ſteps, continually deuoured them. The mildnes of King *Richard* hath bred in vs this ſcorne, interpreting it to be cowardiſe and dulnes of nature: the next heire is likewiſe reiected: I will not ſay that with greater courage we ſhall finde greater cruelty; but if eyther of theſe ſhall hereafter be able to ſet vp their ſide, and bring the matter to tryal by armes, I doe aſſuredly ſay, that which part ſoeuer ſhall carry the fortune of the field, the people both wayes muſt goe to wracke. And thus haue I declared my minde concerning this queſtion, in more wordes then your wiſdom, yet fewer then the weight of the cauſe doth require: and doe boldly conclude, that wee haue neyther power nor policy, either to depoſe King *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henrie* in his place; that King *Richard* remaineth ſtill our Soueraigne Prince, and therefore it is not lawfull for vs to giue iudgement vpon him; that the Duke whom you call King, hath more offended againſt the King and the realme, then the King hath done, either againſt him or vs; for being baniſhed the realme for ten yeares by the King and his counſaile (amongſt whom his owne Father was chiefe) and ſworne not to returne againe without ſpeciall lycenſe: he hath not only violated his oath, but with impious armes diſturbed the quiet of the Land, and diſpoſſeſſed the King from his royall eſtate, and now demaundeth iudgement againſt his perſon, without offence proued, or defence heard. if this iniury and this periury doth nothing moue us, yet let

both our priuate and common dangers ſomwhat withdraw vs from theſe violent proceedings.

This ſpeach was diuerſly taken, as men were diuerſly affected betweene feare, hope, and ſhame: yet the moſt part did make ſhew for King *Henry*, and thereupon the Biſhop was preſently attached by the Earle Marſhall, and committed to priſon in the Abbey of S. *Albones*, Whoſe counſaile and coniecture then contemned, was afterwardes better thought vpon; partly in the life time of King *Henry*, during whoſe raigne, almoſt no yeare paſſed without great ſlaughters and executions: but more eſpecially in the times ſucceeding, when within the ſpace of xxxvi yeares, twelue ſet battailes vpon this quarrell were fought within the realme by Engliſh men only: and more then foureſcore Princes of the royall bloud ſlaine one by another.

Then it was concluded, that King *Richard* ſhould be kept in a large priſon, with all manner of princely maintenance: and if any perſons ſhould conſpire to reare warre for his deliuerance, that he ſhould be the firſt man who ſhould ſuffer death for that attempt. Then the Actes of the Parlament holden at Weſtminſter, in the xi. yeare of King *Richard*, were reuiued; and the Parlament holden the xxi. yeare of King *Richard* was wholly repealed: and they who were attainted by that Parlament, were reſtored againe to their fame and honour, and to their Landes, without ſuing lyuerie, and to ſuch goods whereof the King was not anſwered; except the rents and iſſues which had bin receiued out of their landes in the meane time. Hereupon *Richard* Earle of Warwicke was deliuered out of priſon, and the Earle of Arundelles ſonne recouered his inheritance: many others alſo that were baniſhed or impriſoned by King *Richard*, were then fullye reſtored againe, to their Countrie, libertie, and eſtate.

It was further prouided, that none of thoſe which came in ayde of King *Henry* againſt King *Richard*, ſhould for that

that cauſe be impeaced or troubled. Alſo the King gaue to the Earle of Weſtmerland the Countie of Richmond; & to the Earle of Northumberland he gaue thē Ile of Man, to be houlden of him by the ſeruice of bearing the ſworde, wherewith he entred into England. Diuers other of his followers he aduanceth to offices of higheſt place and charge, ſome vpon iudgement and for deſert, but moſt part to win fauour, and perhappes proiecting a plot for friends, if times ſhould change: for in many actions men take more care to preuent reuenge, then to leade an innocent and harmleſſe life.

It was further agreed, that the procurers of the death and murther of *Thomas* late Duke of Gloucester, ſhould be ſearched out and ſeuerelie puniſhed. And iudgement was giuen againſt the appellants of the Earle of Warwicke and the Earle of Arundell, that the Dukes of Aumerle, Suſſex, and Exceter, the Marqueſſe of Dorſet, and the Earle of Glouceſter who were preſent, ſhould looſe their degree of honour for them & their heyres: that they ſhould likewiſe looſe all the Caſtles, Mannors, Lordſhippes, &c. then in their hands which ſometimes apperteined to thoſe whom they did appeale, and that all the letters patents & charters which they had cōcerning the ſame, ſhould be ſurrendred into the Chancerie, and there be cancelled: that for all other their Caſtles, Manors, Lordſhips, poſſeſſions, and liberties, they ſhould be at the grace and mercie of the King: that they ſhould giue no liueries, nor keepe any retinue of men, but onely ſuch officers as were meerelie neceſſarie for their degree: that if any of them ſhould adhere to *Richard* the depoſed King, in giuing him ayde or encouragement, againſt the iudgement of his depoſition, then he ſhould incurre the paines and forfeitures of high treaſon. And becauſe it was a clamorous complaint among the common people, that many officers had committed grieuous extortions and wrongs, eyther by the open maintenance or ſecret conniuence of theſe Lords:

First

Firſt thoſe officers were remoued, and that corruption taken away with integritie, which briberie had wrought, in placing (for money) men of bad qualitie, in high degrees of office and ſeruice: then proclamations were made, that if any man had been oppreſſed by theſe Lords, or by any officers vnder them, he ſhould prooue his complaint, and receiue recompence. It was made a queſtion whether it was not meete that theſe noblemen ſhould be put to death: the importunitie of the people, & the perſwaſion of many great men drew that way, but policie was againſt it, and eſpecially the opinion of clemencie, which ſeemed needfull to the ſetling of a new riſen ſtate.

In this Parlament alſo the Lorde *Fitzwater* appealed the ſaid Duke of Aumerle, ſonne to the Duke of Yorke, vpon points of high treaſon: likewiſe the Lord *Morley* appealed *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Saliſburie, and more then twentie other appealants waged battaile; but the King purpoſing to lay the foundation of his realme by fauour and not by force, gaue pardon and reſtitution alike to all, vppon ſureties and band for their allegeance: and in a ſweet and moderate oration he admoniſheth, and as it were intreated the one part, that ould griefes and grudges ſhould not be renued, but buried together with the memory of former times, wherein men were forced to doe many thinges againſt their mindes: the other part he deſired to be more regardfull of their actions afterwards, & for the time paſt, rather to forget that euer they were in fault, then to remember that they were pardoned. No puniſhment was laid vppon any, ſaue onely the Earle of Salisbury and the Lord Morley, who had beene in eſpeciall grace and fauour with King *Richard:* theſe two were committed to priſon, but at the ſute of their friends they were ſoone releaſed: the reſt the King receiued freely to fauour but moſt eſpecially the Duke of Aumerle, and the Duke of Exceſter, Lord Gouernour of Calice. The Duke of Aumerle was couſen germane to both the Kings: *Iohn Holland*

Iand duke of Exeter, was halfe brother to king *Richard*, and brother in lawe to King *Henrie*; whoſe ſiſter the Lady *Elizabeth* he had taken to wife. The greateſt matter that was enforced againſt them, was their loialty vnto King *Richard*: (a grieuous crime among rebels) becauſe they did not only ſtomacke and ſtorme at his deiection, but ſtirre alſo more then others, and aſſaye to raiſe forces on his behalfe. The Dukes boldly confeſſed the accuſation, that they were indeed vnfortunately faithfull to King *Richard*; but as thoſe who once are falſe, doe ſeldome afterwards proone ſoundly firme, ſo they that haue ſhewed thẽſelues true to one prince may the better be truſted by any other. The King did rather admit this as a defence, then remit it as a fault: affirming, that ſuch examples were not to be miſliked of Princes: ſo he entred with them into great tearmes of friendſhip, and put them in place neereſt his perſon, endeauouring by courteſie and liberalitie, to make them faſt and faithfull vnto him: this fact was diuerſly interpreted, according to mens ſeueral diſpoſitions, ſome admiring the kings moderation, others diſliking and diſallowing his confidence; and indeed although theſe meanes haue to this purpoſe preuailed with ſome, yet the cõmon courſe may moue vs commonly to coniecture, that there is little aſſurance in reconciled enemies: whoſe affections (for the moſt part) are like vnto Glaſſe; which being once cracked, can neuer be made otherwiſe then crazed and vnſound.

Furthermore, to qualifie all preiudice and hard opinion which other princes might chaunce to conceiue, King *Henrie* diſpatched Embaſſadours to diuers countries neere vnto him, to make it knowne by what title, and by what fauour and deſire of all the people he atteyned the kingdome. To the Court of Rome he ſent *Iohn Treuenant* Biſhop of Hereford, Sir *Iohn Cheyney* Knight, and Iohn *Cheyney* Eſquire: into Fraunce he ſent *Walter Sherlowe* Biſhop of Durham, and Lord *Thomas Pearcy*, Earle of Worceſter: into Spaine

he ſent *Iohn Trenor* Biſhop of S. Aſſaphes, and ſir *William Parre*, and into Almaine he ſent the Biſhop of Bangor, and certaine other. Moſt of theſe Princes (as in a matter which little concerned either their honour or their harme) ſeemed eyther not to regarde what was done, or eaſely to bee perſwaded that all was done well. But *Charles* King of Fraunce, was ſo diſtempered at this diſhonourable dealing with his ſonne in lawe King *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion, he fell into his ould panges of phrenſie: and at the laſt by helpe of Phiſicke returning to the ſobrietie of his ſences, he purpoſed to make ſharpe warre vpon that diſloyall people (as he termed them) for this iniurie againſt their lawfull and harmeleſſe Prince. Many noble men of Fraunce ſhewed themſelues verye forwarde to enter into the ſernice, but eſpecially the Earle of Saint *Paule*, who had maryed King *Richards* halfe Siſter. So letters of defiance were ſent into England, and great preparation was made for the warre.

Likewiſe the newes of theſe nouelties much abaſhed the Aquitanes (who were at that time vnder the Engliſh ſubiection) and plunged their thoughts in great perplexities. Some were grieued at the infamous blemiſh of the Engliſh nation, who had deſteyned their honour with the ſpot of ſuch diſloyall dealing: others feared the ſpoyle of their goods, and oppreſſion of their liberties by the Frenchmen; againſt whoſe violence they ſuſpected that the realme of England, beeing diſtracted into ciuill factions, eyther would not attend, or ſhould not be able to beare them out: but the Citizens of Burdeaux were chiefely anguiſhed in reſpect of King *Richard*, partlie fretting at his iniurie, and partlie lamenting his infortunitie; becauſe hee was borne and brought vppe within their Citie. And thus in the violence, ſome of their anger, ſome of their griefe, and ſome of their feare, in this ſort they did generally complaine,

O good

O good God (ſaid they) where is the world become? Saints are turned to Serpents, and Doues into Diuels. The Engliſh nation which hath been accompted fierce onely againſt their foes, and alwayes faithfull to their friends; are now become both fierce and faithleſſe againſt their lawfull and louing Prince, and haue moſt barbarouſly betrayed him. Who would euer haue thought that Chriſtians, that ciuill people, that any men, would thus haue violated all religion, all lawes, and all honeſt and orderly demeanure? And although the heauens bluſh at the view, and the earth ſweat at the burthen of ſo vile a villanie, and all men proclaime and exclaime vpon ſhame and confuſion againſt them: yet they neither feele the horrour; nor ſhrinke at the ſhame, nor feare the reuenge; but ſtand vpon tearmes, ſome of defence for the lawfulneſſe of their dealing, and ſome of excuſe for the neceſſity. Well, let them be able to blinde the worlde, and to reſiſt mans reuenge; yet ſhall they neuer be able to eſcape eyther the ſight or vengeance of Almighty God; which we dayly expect, and earneſtly deſire to be powred vpon them. Alas good King *Richard*, thy nature was too gentle, and thy gouernment too milde for ſo ſtiffe and ſtubborne a people: what King wil euer repoſe any truſt in ſuch vnnaturall ſubiectes, but fetter them with Lawes as theeues are with Irons? What carriage heereafter can recouer their credite? What time will bee ſufficient to blotte out this blemiſh? What other action could they haue doone, more ioyfull to their enemyes, more woefull to their friendes, and more ſhamefull to themſelues? Oh corruption of times? Oh conditions of men.

The Frenchmen were nothing diſcontented at this diſcontentment of the Aquitanes, ſuppoſing that opportunity was then offred, to get into their poſſeſſion the Dutchie of Guian, if either power or pollicie were thereto applyed. Hereupon *Lewes* Duke of Burbon came downe

to Angiers, who from thence ſent many meſſengers to the chiefe cities of Guian, and by faire ſpeeches and large promiſes, ſolicited the people to change alleageance: on the contrarie ſide, ſir *Robert Knowles* Lieutenant of Guian, endeuoured with all diligence to repreſſe the mutinous, to ſtay the doubtfull, to confirme the good, and to reteine all in order and obedience: but he profited very little, whether by the weakeneſſe of his owne arme, or ſtiffe necke of the people it is not certainely aſſured. Neither did the Duke of Burbone much preuaile, when it was conſidered, how ponderous the yoake of Fraunce was aboue the Engliſh ſubiection: for all men were wel acquainted with what tributes and taxations the Frenchmen were charged, hauing in euerye countrie Lieutenants and Treaſurours aſſigned, the one to drawe the bloud, the other the ſubſtance of the ſlauiſh ſubiects, whoſe cruelty and couetouſneſſe laide holde without exception vppon all, the one tormenting by force, and the other vndooing by lawe. Thus ſtood the Aquitanes vppon tickle tearmes betweene obedience and reuolt, as a ſhippe which the winde driueth one way, and the tide another: deſirous they were to diſpleaſe the Engliſh, but loath to endanger and vndoe themſelues.

Vppon aduertiſement whereof, King *Henry* ſent into Guian the Lord *Thomas Perce* Earle of Worceſter, whom he knew to be faithfull vnto him, and expert in matters of charge, hauing in his companie a ſtrong and ſeruiceable band of Souldiers: who not by vnſeaſonable exprobating their fault, but by reaſon conuincing it, partlye with his wiſdome and credite ſo perſwaded, and partlye with his authoritie and forces ſo terrifyed the wauering people, that he wanne them to his opinion, and confirmed them in their alleageance; the grauer ſorte with reſpect of dutie and faith, the reſt with regarde and feare of daunger. Then hee receiued oathes of obedience vnto King *Henrye*, and planted certaine ſtrong garriſons in places of chiefe

chiefe import, without moleſtation if they remained quiet, and yet of force to repreſſe them if they ſhould rebell. This done, he turned againe into England, where he ſhewed an excellent example of moderation, in ſeeming rather to haue found then to haue made the Aquitanes duriful ſubiectes.

No ſooner could this ſtirre be ſtinted, but another more dangerous and deſperate did foorthwith ariſe: for diuerſe noble men who either had diſſembled, or did repent the furtherance that they vſed to the aduauncement of King *Henry*, did conſpire together to compaſſe his deſtruction: the hiſtories of that time doe vary, concerning the cauſes of this conſpiracy, whether it were for fauour to King *Richard*, as the nature of man is inclinable to beholde ſodaine miſfortune with a pittifull eye; or for enuie to King *Henrie*, as commonly wee can endure exceſſiue fortune, no where ſo little as in thoſe that haue beene in equall degree with our ſelues: or whether vpon diſhonours receiued in the late Parlament, or vpon diſdaine to ſee others goe before them in the Princes fauour, many ſought to reuenge their vniuſt anger with lewde diſloyalty: likewiſe it is not aſſuredly known by what meanes the workers thereof were drawne together, and the ſecret deuiſes of ſome imparted to the reſt: whether one of them did perſwade another to enter into the action, or whether all were induced by the ſame vnconſtant diſpoſition and light account of faith: which being once falſed to King *Richard*, was afterwardes vpon euery light diſcontentment, lyttle reſpected to any: but concerning theſe matters, the moſt current report is this.

There was at that time an Abbot of Weſtminſter, one that applyed his ſtudies, not as the moſt part, to cloake idleneſſe and ſlouth vnder the glorious tytle of religion, but to enable himſelfe for counſaile and direction in publique affayres; who for the generall opinion of his wiſdome

and integritie: was in good fauour and credit with King *Richard*, and did accompany him in his laſt voyage into Ireland.

This Abbot called to his remembrance, a ſpeach which hee heard once fall from King *Henry*, when hee was but Erle of Derbie, and not yet come to any great ſtayednesſe, eyther in yeares or iudgement; that Princes had too little, and religious men too much.

At that time the riches of the Church were growne ſo great, that many began to looke vpon them with an enuious eye; but leaſt couetouſneſſe ſhould ſhew it ſelfe with open face, policie was pretended, and the exceſſe thought daungerous, both to the King and alſo to the cleargy; as very like to cauſe want to the one, and wantonneſſe in the other.

Hereupon many billes had beene put vppe in the parlaments holden in the raigne of King *Richard*, that prouiſion might be made to repreſſe the increaſe of religious poſſeſſions; namely, that inquiſition and redreſſe might be had againſt ſuch religious perſons, as vnder the licence to purchaſe ten pounds yearelie, did purchace foureſcore, or a hundred pounds: and alſo againſt ſuch religious perſons as cauſed their villaines to take to their wiues free women, inheritable, whereby the landes came to thoſe religious mens hands: yea it was mooued in open Parlament, that the king ſhould ſeaze into his hands, all the temporall liuings of religious houſes, as beeing rather a burthen then a benefit vnto religion.

Vppon theſe and the like petitions, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke, for themſelues and the Cleargie of their Prouinces, were oftentimes compelled to make their ſolemne proteſtations in open Parlament, that if any thing were attempted in reſtraint of the libertie of the Church, they would in no wiſe aſſent but vtterly withſtand the ſame: the which their proteſtations

tions they required to be enrouled.

So partly vpon loue to King *Richard*, and partly vppon feare, leaſt King *Henry* would bee as ready to inuade, as hee was to inueigh againſt the richeſſe of religious houſes: this Abbot was the firſt man that blewe the coales, and put fewell to the fire of this confederacy. And firſt he obſerued a farre off, then hee ſearched more neerely and narrowly (and yet warely too) howe the myndes of certaine Noble men were affected, or rather infected agaynſt King *Henry*; tempering his ſpeeches in ſuch ſorte, that if matters ſorted to his minde, hee myght take them vpon him, if his courſes were croſſed, hee myght cleerely diſclaime them: at laſt hee inuited to his houſe vppon a daye, in Michaelmas tearme, thoſe whome hee had ſounded to bee moſt ſounde for his purpoſe: the chiefe of whom were ſuch as in the Parlament before had in ſome ſorte beene touched in reputation, although by pardon and reconcilement the harme did ſeeme to bee cloſed vp: theyr names were *Iohn Holland* Duke of Exceter, of whome mention hath beene made before, *Thomas Holland* his brothers Sonne, Duke of Surrey, *Edward* Duke of Aumerle, *Iohn Montacute* Earle of Saliſbury, *Hugh Spencer*, Earle of Gloceſter, *Iohn* Biſhoppe of Caerliele, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Magdalen* one of King *Richards* Chappell, who in all pointes both of feature and fauour, ſo neerely reſembled King *Richard*, that the Lordes diſſembled afterwardes that hee was King *Richard* indeede.

Theſe and ſome others were highly feaſted by the Abbot: and after dinner they withdrewe themſelues, into a ſecret Chamber to counſaile: heere the Duke of Exceter, who was moſte hotly bent eyther to reſtore, or to reuenge the cauſe of his depoſed brother, declared vnto the reſt, the allegeance that they had ſworne vnto King *Richard*: the honours and preferments whereunto they

were

were by him aduanced: that therefore they were bounde both in conſcience by the one, and in kindneſſe by the other, to take his part againſt all men: that King *Henrie* contrary to both, had diſpoyled him of his royall dignitie, and vniuſtly poſſeſſed himſelfe thereof, whileſt they ſtood looking on, and ſhewed neither the obedience of ſubiectes, nor loue of friendes, as though they were men who knewe to doe any thing, better then to defend, and if neede were to dye for their lawful Prince and louing patron: that King *Henrie* by violent inuading, or fraudulent inſinuating himſelfe, into the kingdome of his naturall and liege Prince, was but a tyrant, and vſurper, and ſuch a one as it was lawfull for any man, by any meanes to throw downe, without reſpect whether he were a good man or euill, for it is lawfull for no man, vpon pretence and ſhewe of goodneſſe to draw ſoueraignty vnto himſelfe; that the lawes and examples of beſt gouerned common wealths, did not onely permit this action but highly honoured it with ſtatues and garlandes, and titles of nobility, and alſo rewarded it with all the wealth of the ſuppreſſed tyrant: that this enterprize would be very profitable, and almoſt neceſſarie to the common wealth, by extinguiſhing thoſe warres which the Scots menaced the Frenchmen prepared, and the Welſhmen had already begun vpon this occaſion and quarrell: that hee did not diſtruſt but it might be accompliſhed by open armes, but he thought it more ſure for them, and for the common wealth more ſafe, to put firſt in proofe ſome ſecret policy: and to that purpoſe he deuiſed, that a ſolemne Iuſtes ſhould be challenged, to be kept at Oxforde, in Chriſtmaſſe holydayes, betweene him and twentie on his part, and the Earle of Salisburie and twentie on his part, to which king *Henrie* ſhould be inuited: and when he was moſt intentiue in regarding their militarie diſport, he ſhould ſodainly be ſurprized by men, which without ſuſpition might at that time be aſſembled, both for number and preparation ſufficient for the

exploit,

exployt, and thereby King *Richard* preſently be reſtord, both to his liberty, and to his eſtate.

This deuiſe was no ſooner vttered, then allowed and applauded of the reſt of the confederates: and ſo reſoluing vpon the enterprize, they tooke an oath vpon the Euangeliſtes, the one to be true and ſecret to the other, euen to the houre and point of death: the Lords alſo made an Indenture ſextipartite wherein they bound themſelues, to do their beſt aſſay, for the death of the one king and deliuerance of the other. this they ſealed and ſubſcribed, and deliuered to euery Lord a counter-pane of the ſame: and further they concluded what forces ſhould be gathered, by whom, how they ſhould be ordered and placed, and to whoſe truſt the execution ſhould be committed.

When all thinges were thus contriued, and theyr hungry ambitious minds were well filled with the vaine winds of hope and deſire: the Duke of Exceter came to the King at Windſore, and deſired him for the loue that hee bare to the noble feates of Cheualry, that hee would vouchſafe to honour with his preſence the martiall exerciſe, that was appointed betweene him and the Earle of Salisbury, and to be the iudge of their performances if any controuerſie ſhould ariſe.

The King ſuppoſing that to be intended indeed, which was pretended in ſhew, eaſily yeelded to his requeſt. The Duke ſuppoſing his purpoſe now halfe performed, departed to his houſe, and ſo did the other confederates: where they buſily beſtirred themſelues, in rayſing men, and preparing horſe and armour for the accompliſhment of this acte.

When the Dutcheſſe of Exceter, King *Henries* Siſter perceiued the drift of the deuiſe, and ſaw that the Duke was vpon his iourney: alas good Lady howe was ſhee diſtracted in minde, with a ſharpe conflicte of her conceiptes?

one way ſhe was mooued with nature towardes her brother; another waye ſhee was more ſtrongly ſtirred, with loue towards her Lord and husband: and both wayes ſhee was deuided in dutie. And what (ſayde ſhee) is this loue then againſt nature? or aboue it? ſhall I bee vndutifull to my Prince? or is no dutie comparable to the dutie of a wife? heigh ho: in what perplexities (wretched woman) am I plunged, to ſee my two deereſt friends in this caſe of extremitie, that (it is doubtfull which but) certainlie one muſt be ruined by the other. Heerewith ſuch a ſhower of teares ſtreamed downe her cheekes, that it drowned her ſpeech, and ſtopped the paſſage of further complaint: which when the Duke eſpyed, hee ſtepped vnto her, and ſeazing ſoftly vppon her hand, vſed theſe words. What Beſſe? is it kindneſſe to me or kindred to your brother that thus hath ſet your eyes on floate? Content your ſelfe woman, for whatſoeuer the euent ſhall be, it cannot be euill to you, nor worſe to me then now it is. For if my purpoſe preuaile, and my brother bee reſtored againe to his Crowne, both of vs ſhall be ſure neuer to decline: if it be preuented, and your brother continue ſtill in his eſtate, no harme ſhall be doone vnto you, and I ſhall be ſure then of that deſtruction which I doe now continually dread; the feare whereof in expecting, is a greater torment then the paine in ſuffering. When hee had thus ſaide, hee kiſſed her, and ſo leauing her to the torture of thouſand thornie thoughts, hee tooke his iourney towards Oxforde, with a great company both of Archers and Horſemen. There he found all the reſt of his complices, well armed and banded, except onely the Duke of Aumerle.

The King alſo hearing that both the Challengers and defendants were in a readineſſe, determined the daye following to ride to Oxforde, according to his promiſe and appointment.

Now

Now the confederates much marualled at the ſtay of the Duke of Aumerle, ſome onely blamed his ſlackneſſe, others began to ſuſpect it, euery man coniectured as he was diuerſely affected betweene confidence and feare: and in this confuſion of opinions, they ſent vnto him in poſte, to know the certaine truth. Before the meſſenger came to the Duke, hee was departed from Weſtminſter towards Oxford, not the direct way, but went firſt to ſee his Father the Duke of York, and carried with him the counterpane of the Indenture of confederacie. As they ſate at dinner, the Father eſpied it in his boſome, and demaunded what it was, the Sonne humbly craued pardon, and ſaid that it nothing touched him, by S. George (quoth the Father) but I will ſee it: and ſo whether vpon precedent iealouſie, or ſome preſent cauſe of ſuſpition he tooke it away from him by force. When he perceiued the contents, he ſodainely aroſe from the table, & with great fierceneſſe both of countenance and ſpeech, vttered to his Sonne theſe wordes.

I ſee traytor, that idleneſſe hath made thee ſo wanton and mutinous, that thou playeſt with thy faith, as children doe with ſtickes: thou haſt beene once already faithleſſe to King *Richard*, and now again art falſe to King *Henry*, ſo that like the fiſh *Sepia*, thou troubleſt all the waters wherin thou liueſt. Thou knoweſt that in open Parlament I became ſuretie and pledge for thy allegeance, both in bodye and goods: and can neither thy duety, nor my deſert reſtreine thee, from ſeeking my deſtruction? in faith, but I will rather helpe forward thine. With that hee commaunded his Horſes to bee made readie, and preſentlye tooke his iorneye towardes Windſore, where the King then laye.

The Duke of Aumerle had no time eyther to conſulte with his friends, or to conſider with himſelfe what was beſt to bee doone: but taking aduiſe vppon the ſodaine,

he mounted likewise on horsebacke, and poasted towardes windsore another way. It was no neede to force him forwarde, his youthfull bloud, and his sodaine daunger were in steed of two winges, to keepe his horse in *Pegasus* pace: so that he came to Windsore, & was alighted at the Castell, before his stiffe aged Father could come neere. Then hee entred the gates, and caused them to be surely locked, and tooke the keyes into his owne hands, pretending some secret cause for which he would deliuer them unto the King. When he came in presence he kneeled downe and humbly craued of the King mercie and forgiuenesse. The King demaunded for what offence? Then with a confused voice and sad countenance, casting downe his eyes as altogether abashed, partly with feare of his daunger, and partly with shame of his discredit; he declared vnto the King all the manner of the conspiracie. The King seemed neither rashly to beleeue, nor negligently to distrust the Dukes report; neyther stood it with pollicie to entertaine the discouerie with any hard and violent vsage: therefore with gracious speeches he comforted the Duke, and if this bee true, sayd he, we pardon you: if it be feined, at your extreame perrill be it.

By this time the Duke of Yorke was rapping at the Castle gates, and being admitted to the Kings presence, he deliuered to him the endenture of confederacie, which hee had taken from his sonne. When the King had redde it, and was thereby perswaded of the truth of the matter, he was not a litle disquieted in minde, complaining of the vnconstant disposition of those men, whom neither crueltie (he said) could make firme to King *Richard*, nor clemencie to him; but vppon dislike of euery present gouernment, they were desirous of any change. So being possessed with deeper thoughts then to gaze vppon games, he layde his iorney aside, and determined to attend at Windsor, what course his

his enemies would take, and which waye they would set forward: knowing right well, that in ciuill tumults, an aduised patience, and opportunity well taken, are the only weapons of aduantage; and that it is a speciall point of wisdome, to make benefit of the enemies follie. In the meane time he directed his letters to the Earle of Northumberland his high Constable, and to the Earle of Cumberland his high Marshall, and to others his most assured friends, concerning these sodaine and vnexpected accidents.

The confederates all this time hearing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, and seeing no preparation for the Kings comming, were out of doubt that their treason was betrayed. And now considering that once before they had beene pardoned, the guilt of this their rebellion, excluded them from all hope of further mercie: whereupon they became desperate, and so resolued to prosecute that by open armes, wherein their priuie practises had failed. And first they apparelled *Magdalen* (a man very like to King *Richard* both in stature and countenance, and of yeares not disagreeable) in princely attire; and gaue foorth that hee was King *Richard*, and that eyther by fauour or negligence of his keepers, he was escaped out of prison, and desired the faith and ayde of his louing subiectes. Then they determined to dispatch messengers to *Charles* King of France, to desire his helpe and assistance on the behalfe of his sonne in lawe, if need should require.

The common people which commonly are soone changeable, and on the sodaine, as prone to pitty, as they were before excessiuely cruell, most earnestly wished the enlargement of King *Richard*, and earnestly wishing, did easily beleeue it: in which imaginary conceit, being otherwise men of no deepe search, the presence of *Magdalene* most strongly confirmed them, and so eyther vpon ignorance of truth, or delight in trouble, they ioyned themselues in great troops

to the Lordes: desiring nothing more then to be the meanes whereby King *Richard* should be restored, as in a manner resuming their first affections and humors towards him. Then the lords of this association with great force, but with greater fame, as the manner is of matters vnknowne, aduanced forward in battell arraye towardes Windsore, against King *Henrie*, as against an enemie of the common state; hauing in theyr company aboue forty thousand armed men. The King vpon intelligence of theyr approache, secretlye with a few horse, the next Sunday night after Newyeres day, departed from Windsore to the Tower of London, and the same night before it was daye, the confederates came to the Castle of Windsore: where missing their expected preye, they stood doubtfull and diuided in opinions, which waye to bend their course. Some aduised them with all speede to follow the King to London, and not to leaue him any leaue and liberty, to vnite an armie against them: that Winter was no let but in idle and peaceable times: that in ciuill dissentions nothing is more safe then speede, and greater aduantage alwayes groweth by dispatching then deferring: that whilest some were in feare, some in doubt, and some ignorant, the Citie, yea the Realme might easily be possessed: and that many armies whose fury at the first rush could not be resisted by delayes did weare out, and waste to nothing. Others who would seeme to be considerate and wise, but in verye deede were no better then dastardes, perswaded rather to set King *Richard* first at libertie; for if their counterfeiting should bee discouered before they possessed themselues of his person, the people vndoubtely would fall from them to the certaine confusion of them all. Hereuppon they gaue ouer the pursuite, and retired to Colebrooke, and there delayed out the time of doing, in deliberating, beeing neither couragiouslye quicke, nor consyderately stayed, but faintly and fearefullye shrinking backe:

backe: and when they once beganne to relent, they decreaſed euerye day more and more both in power and in hope.

King *Henrie* the next morning after hee was (...) the Tower, ſent to the Maior of the Citie to (...) Souldiours in armes for his aſſiſtance, who preſentlye preſented vnto him three thouſand Archers, and three thouſand bill-men, beſides thoſe that were appointed for defence of the Citie. The King ſpent vpon him many good ſpeeches, and liberally loaded him with promiſes and thanks: and ſoone after he iſſued out of London, with twenty thouſand tall men, and came to Hounſlowe Heath, abiding there, and as it were daring his enemies to ioyne iſſue in the field: contemning their diſorderlye multitude, as a vaine terrour of names without forces. But the confederates eyther for feare of the Kings power, or for diſtruſt of their owne, or elſe lingring, perhappes, after ſome ſuccour out of Fraunce, refuſed the encounter, and doubtfull it is whether they ſhewed greater courage in ſetting vp the danger, or cowardiſe in declining it when it was preſented vnto them.

So they departed from Colebrooke to Sunnings, a place neere Redding, where Queene *Iſabell*, King *Richards* wife did then abide: to whom vppon the plaine trueth before declared, fame had falſlye deſcanted, that King *Richard* was eſcaped out of priſon, and did lye at Pomfret with a hundred thouſand armed men; and that King *Henrie* for feare of him, was fledde with his children and friends to the Tower of London. All which was as lightlie beleeued as it was vainelye toulde: wherevppon ſhee defaced King *Henries* armes, and plucked away his cogniſance from thoſe his ſeruants that attended vppon her; and having in ſome ſorte ſatisfied her womanniſh anger, with this harmleſſe ſpight, ſhee and the

Lordes

Lordes departed together firſt to Wallingforde, and from thence to Abington, ſtirring the people by the way to take armour, and to riſe in ayde of King *Richard* who was (ſaide they) and is, and ſhould be their Prince.

At the laſt they came to Chichester, and there the Lordes tooke their lodgings, the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Salisburie in one Inne; the Duke of Exeter and the Earle of Glouceſter in another; and all the hoaſt encamped in the fields. But the Bayliffe of the towne, ſuſpecting all this countenance to be but the vaine ſhe of a falſe fire, did in the night with about foureſcore Archers, beſet and ſet vpon the houſe where the Duke of Surrey and the Earle of Saliſburie laye: who were men but of weake reſiſtance by nature, but being put vpon neceſſitie, ſhewed great manhood and perſiſtance in defending themſelues againſt the townſmen. The Duke of Exceter and the Earle of Glouceſter being in another Inne, were not able by force to reſcue their aſſociates; whereupon a certaine Prieſt of their companye ſet diuers houſes in the towne on fire, ſuppoſing thereby to diuert the townſmē from their aſſault, to the ſaſing of their houſes and of their goods: but this fire greatly inflamed their furie, and made them more obſtinate in their attempt, crying out that they would neuer labour to reſcue their loſſes, but to reuenge them; and that with the bl ud of the Lords, whoſe flames ſhould be quenched. Then there aroſe confuſed clamours, and noyſes, all the towne being in an vproare and in armes, ſhooting fiercelie and running vpon the Lords with a raſhe and deſperate rage; not caring to looſe many, wherof they had many to ſpare.

When the Earle of Exceter and they that were with him perceiued the force of the aſſaylants dangerouſlie to encreaſe, and that it was impoſſible for a few to ſuſteine the furie of ſo many ſo obſtinately bent: they fled out of the backeſide towards the campe, intending to bring the whole armie

army to the reſcue: but the ſoldiers hauing heard a tumult and ſeeing fire within the towne, ſuppoſed that the King was entred with all his puiſſance: whereupon being ſtrooke with a ſodaine and falſe feare, and wanting a commaunder of courage to confirme them, they ran away, and diſpearſed themſelues without meaſure; and ſo whileſt euery man endeuoured to ſaue himſelfe, all were brought to their confuſion.

Thus the Duke of Surrey, and the Earle of Salisbury, and the Lords, and Gentlemen which were in their company, were left to defend themſelues againſt the towneſmen as they could: who manfullye maintained the fight with great bloudſhed of their enemies, from midnight vntill three of the clocke the next day in the afternoone: at the laſt, being inferiour both in number and fortune, the Duke and the Earle were wounded to death and taken, and the ſame euening theyr heades were ſtriken off and ſent to London: there were alſo taken Sir *Bennet Shelley*, Sir *Barnard Brokas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and 28. other Lordes, Knights and Gentlemen, who were ſent to Oxford, where the King then lay and there were put to execution.

The Duke of Exceter when he found the army diſperſed and fled, fled likewiſe with Sir *Iohn Shelley* into Eſſex, lamenting the certaine deſtruction which his raſhneſſe had procured to himſelfe, and to his friends, but moſte eſpecially to King *Richard*; if not as a party, yet as a cauſe of this vnhappy tumult; many times he did attempt to haue eſcaped by Sea into Fraunce, but he was alwayes driuen backe by diſtreſſe of weather; and ſo wandring and lurking in ſecret places, hee was at the laſt attached as hee ſate at ſupper in a certaine friends houſe, and led to Plaſhy, and there ſhortly after beheaded: ſo that a man might probably conieƈture that the death of the Duke of Gloceſter was then brought in reckoning, who by his counſell and contry-

uance chiefly, in the ſame place had been apprehended. An excellent example for all thoſe which meaſure their Actions eyther by theyr pleaſure, or by their power: that reuenge of iniurious dealing, although it be prolonged, yet doth neuer faile, but commeth ſurely although perhappes, ſlowly. This Duke was a man of high parentage, of a franke minde, and wealth anſwerable thereunto: openly praiſeworthy, but his ſecret actions were hardly ſpoken of: he was of conſent to all his brothers vices, and of counſaile to many, yet ſomewhat the more cloſe and vigilant man: and not ſo much partaker of his proſperity, as violently carried with the current of his miſery.

The Earle of Glouceſter fled towardes Wales, but was forelayed and taken, and beheaded at Briſtow: *Magdalen* the counterfeite of King *Richard*, flying into Scotland, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered, with *W. Ferby* another of King *Richards* Chapleines. Diuerſe other Lordes and Knights and Gentlemen, and a great number of meane and baſe perſons, were in other places put to death; inſomuch as the King though otherwiſe of a very temperate and intreatable nature, ſeemed to ſhew too hard and haughty dealing in reuenging his owne iniury, or rather maintaining the iniury that he had done: the heads of the chiefe conſpirators, were pitched vpon poles, and ſet ouer London Bridge: in all other partes of the realme a ſpectacle both lamentable and vgly was preſented to the view and terrour of others: bodies hewen in peeces, heads and quarters of vnfortunate diſmẽbred wretches putrifiing aboue ground: not al for deſert, but many to ſatisfy either the malice, or want of King *Henries* friends; inſomuch as many graue men openly gaue forth, that in ſhort time there would be cauſe to wiſh K. *Richard* again, as being more tollerable to endure the cruelty of one, then of many, and to liue where nothing, then where any thing

thing might be permitted.

The Abbot of Weſtminſter in whoſe houſe and in whoſe head the confederacy began, hearing of theſe aduentures, as he was going betweene his monaſtery and his manſion fell ſodainely into a palſie, and ſhortly after without ſpeech endedhis life; and although in this enterpriſe fortune gaue policie the check, and by a ſtrange accident which wiſdome could not foreſee, ouerturned the deuiſe, yet is it certainely affirmed, that this Abbot firſt ſtirred the ſtone, which rowling along, was like to haue turned king *Henry* out of his ſeate. The biſhop of Caerliel, was condemned vpon this treſon, but the extremity of his feare, and griefe, cloſed vp his daies, and preuented the violence and ſhame of publike execution. And now King *Richard* after he had abdicated his dignity, did but ſhort time enioy that ſweet ſecurity, which he did vainly expect, and firſt all his goods which hee did giue in ſatisfaction of the iniuries that hee had done, were brought to diuiſion and ſhare amongſt his enemies: ſhortly after he was remoued from the Tower, to the Caſtle of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret, to the ende that by often changing hee might eyther more ſecretly bee diſpatched, or more vncertainly found: heere being kept in ſtreight priſon, both innocent and ignorant of this offence, he was notwithſtāding made a party in the puniſhment. For King *Henry* perceiuing that the Lords ſo far preuailed with their late ſtratageme, that if their ſtomacke had bin anſwerable to their ſtrength, & their bold beginning had not ended in faintnes and ſloath, they might haue driuen him to a hard hazzard; cauſed King *Richard* to be put to death, intending to make ſure, that no man ſhould cloake open rebellion, vnder the colour of following ſides, nor countenance his cōſpiracy, either with the perſon or name of K. *Richard*: whether hee did expreſſely commaund his death, or no, it is a queſtion; out of queſtion he ſhewed ſome liking and deſire

to the action, and gaue allowance thereto when it was doone.

The moſt current report at that time went, that hee was princely ſerued euery day at the Table, with aboundance of coſtly meates, according to the order preſcribed by Parlament, but was not ſuffered to taſt or touche any one of them; and ſo periſhed of famine; being tormented with the preſence of that, whereof he dyed for want, but ſuch horrible and vnnaturall cruelty, both againſt a King and a kinſeman, ſhould not proceed from King *Henry* (me thinke) a man of a moderate and milde diſpoſition, nor yet from any other minde which is not altogether both ſauage in humanitie, and in religion prophane. One wrighter who would ſeeme to haue the perfect intelligence of theſe affayres, maketh report, that King *Henry* ſitting at his Table ſad and penſiue, with a deepe ſigh brake foorth into theſe wordes: Haue I no faithfull friend that wil deliuer me of him, whoſe life wil breed deſtruction to me and diſturbance to the realme, and whoſe death will bee a ſafetie and quiet to both? for how can I be free from feare, ſo long as the cauſe of my daunger doth continue? and what ſecuritie, what hope ſhall we haue of peace, vnleſſe the ſeed of ſedition be vtterly rooted out.

Vpon this ſpeech a certaine Knight called Sir *Pierce* of Extone, preſently parted from the Court, accompanyed with eight tall men, and came to Pomfrete, and there commaunded, that the Eſquire who was accuſtomed to ſewe, and take the aſſay before King *Richard*, ſhould no more vſe that manner of ſeruice: and let him (quoth he) now eate wel, for he ſhall not eate long. King *Richard* ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſaye, whereat he merueyled, and demaunded of the Eſquire, why he did not his duty? the Eſquire anſwered, that he was otherwiſe commaunded by Sir *Pierce* of Extone, who was latelye come from

from King *Henry*. The King being ſomewhat mooued at his acte and anſwere, tooke the caruing knife in his hand, and ſtrucke the Eſquire therewith lightly on the head, ſaying, the deuill take *Henrie* of Lancaſter and thee together: with that Sir *Pierce* entred the chamber, with eight men in harneys, euery one hauing a byll in his hand: Wherevpon King *Richard* perceiuing their drift and his owne daunger, put the table from him, and ſtepping ſtoutly to the formoſt man, wreſted the bill out of his hand, wherewith (although vnarmed and alone) he manfully defended himſelfe a good ſpace, and ſlew foure of his aſſaylants. Sir *Pierce* lept to the chaire where King *Richard* was wont to ſit, whileſt the reſt chaſed him about the chamber. At the laſt being forced towards the place where Sir *Pierce* was, he with a ſtroake of his Pollax felled him to the ground: and forthwith he was miſerable rid out of his miſerable life. It is ſaide that at the pointe of his death, hee gathered ſome ſpirit, and with a fainte and feeble voice, groaned foorth theſe wordes.

My great grandfather King *Edward* the ſecond, was in this manner depoſed, impriſoned, and murthered; by which meanes my grandfather King *Edward* the third obteyned poſſeſſion of the crowne; and now is the puniſhment of that iniurie powred vpon his next ſucceſſour. Well, this is right for mee to ſuffer, but not for you to doe: your King for a time may ioye at my death, and enioy his deſire; but let him qualifie his pleaſures with expectation of the like iuſtice: for God who meaſureth all our actions by the malice of our mindes, will not ſuffer this violence vnreuenged.

Whether theſe words proceeded from a diſtempered deſire, or from the iudgement of his foreſight, they were not altogether idle and vaine. For Sir *Pierce* expecting great fauor and rewards for his vngracious ſeruice, was fruſtrated

of both, and not onely missed that countenance for which he hoped, but lost that which before he had: so odious are vices euen where they are profitable.

Hereupon hee grew at the first discontented, and afterwardes mightily turmoyled and tormented in conscience, and raging against himselfe would often exclaime, that to pleasure one vnthankefull person, he had made both himselfe and his posterity, hatefull and infamous to all the world.

King *Henrie* with great discontentment and disquiet held the kingdome during his life: and so did his sonne King *Henrie* the fifth: in whose time by continuall warres against the Frenchmen, the malice of the humour was other wise exercised and spent. But his second successour King *Henry* the sixth was dispossessed thereof, and together with his young sonne *Henry* imprisoned and put to death, eyther by the commaundement or conniuence of King *Edward* the fourth.

And hee also escaped not free; for hee dyed not without many and manifest suspicions of poyson: and after his death his two sonnes were disinherited, imprisoned, and butchered by their cruell Vncle the Duke of Glouceſter, who being a tyrant and Vsurper, was lawfully slaine in the field; and so in his person (hauing no issue) the tragedie did end. Which are most rare and excellent examples, both of comfort to them that are oppressed, and of terrour to violent dealers; that God in his secret iudgement dooth not alwayes so certainely prouide for our safetie, as reuenge our iniuries and harmes: and that all our vniust actions haue a day of payment, and many times by waye of retaliation, euen in the same manner and measure wherein they were committed.

And thus was King *Richard* brought to his death, by violence and force as all wrighters agree, although all

agree

agree not vppon the manner of the violence. Hee was a man of perſonage rather well proportioned then tall, of great beautie, and grace, and comlineſſe in preſence; hee was of a good ſtrength, and no abiect ſpirit; but the one by eaſe, the other by flatterie were much abaſed. Hee deſerued many friends, but found fewe, becauſe hee ſought them more by liberalitye, then vertuous dealing. Hee was merueilous infortunate in all his actions, which may verye well bee imputed to his negligence and ſloath; for hee that is not prouident can ſeldome proſper, but by his looſeneſſe will looſe, whatſoeuer fortune, or other mens labours doe caſt vppon him. At the laſt hee was driuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that hee accompted it as a benefit, to bee disburdened of his royall dignitie, for which other men will not ſticke, to put theyr goods, and liues, and ſoules in hazarde.

Hee liued three and thirtie yeares, and raigned two and twentie. His dead body was embaulmed, and ſeared, and couered with Lead all ſaue his face, and carryed to London, and in all the chiefe places by the waye, his face was vncouered and ſhewen, that by viewe thereof no doubt ſhould be made concerning his death. At London hee had a ſolemne obſequie kept in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paule*, the King being preſent, and all the chiefe men of the Cittie.

Then he was conueyed to Langley Abbey in Buckinghamſhire, about twentie miles from London, and there obſcurely enterred by the Biſhop of Cheſter, the Abbot of S. Albones, and the Abbot of Waltham, without preſence of noblemen, without confluence of the common people, and without the charge of a dinner for celebrating the funerals: but afterward at the commaundement of King *Henry* the fifth, his body was taken vp, and remoued to Weſtminſter, and honourablye entombed amongſt his auncеſters, with

with Queene Anne his wife, in expiation (as it is like) of his Fathers violent and vnfaithfull dealing. So hee whose life was alwayes tumultuous and vnquiet, could not readily find rest for his bones, euen after death. It was not amisse in regard of the common wealth that he was dead; yet they who caused his death had small reason to reckon it among their good deedes.

And thus doe these and the like accidents dayly happen to such Princes as wil be absolute in power, resolute in will, and dissolute in life.

This yeere *Humfrey* the sonne and heyre of the Duke of Glouceſter, dyed of the plague, as he returned out of Ireland where King *Richard* had left him prisoner, and shortly after the Dutches his mother with violence of griefe ended her dayes: this yeere also dyed *Thomas Moubray* the exiled duke of Norfolk, whose death would much haue been lamented, if he had not furthered so many lamentable deaths: but he ouerliued his honour, & saw himselfe accounted a person infamed and of no estimation. Likewise about this time, *Iohn* Duke of Brittaine deceased, who had taken to wife *Mary* daughter to King *Edward* the third, and by her had no issue but by *Ioan* his second wife he left behinde him three sons, *Iohn*, *Richard* & *Arthur*: this *Ioan* was afterwards maried to K. *Henrie*, as hereafter shal appeare. Also this yeere *Edmund* Duke of Yorke departed this life, his honour not stayned, his fame not touched: he was a man very circumspect and wary in his cariage, not careleſſe of a good fame, nor greedy after a great: of other mens wealth not desirous, liberall of his owne, and of the common sparing: he did not by obstinate opposing himselfe against the current of the time, rashly hasten, either his fame or his fall, but by moderation attained safely that degree of praise, and honour, which others aspiring vnto by desperate courses, wanne with ambitious death, without any other profit at all. He left behinde him

two

two noble ſonnes, expreſſe reſemblencers of his integritie: *Edward*, who ſucceeded in his dignitie, and before was called Duke of Aumerle, and *Richard* Earle of Cambridge. *Edward*, in the change of the ſtate, neyther conſtantlye kept his fidelitie, nor ſtoutly maintained his treaſon, *Richard* tooke to wife the daughter and heyre of *Roger Mortimer*, whoſe mother *Phillip* was ſole daughter and heyre to *Lionell* Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King *Edward* the thyrd, by which title and diſcent, his poſteritie claimed the Crowne and Kingdome of this Realme from the ſucceſſours of King *Henrie*, as heereafter more at large ſhall be declared.

Charles King of France loſt no time all this while in making preparation to inuade England: and to that end had now rayſed an army royall, which was brought down into Picardie, and in a readineſſe to haue beene tranſported. But it is very like that this haſte for the deliuerance of King *Richard* did the more haſten his death: vppon newes whereof the Frenchmen perceiuing their purpoſe for his reſtitutiō to be to no purpoſe, gaue ouer the enterpriſe; ſome being grieued that the occaſion was loſt of making ſpoile of ſo plentiful a countrie, others being well content to be diſcharged of that hope together with the hazard whervpon it depended. Shortlie after the French King ſent a ſolemne Embaſſage into England, to treate, or rather intreate, that Lady *Iſabel* his daughter, who had bin eſpouſed to King *Richard*, might with her dowrie bee reſtored to him againe. King *Henrie* moſt honourably receiued theſe Embaſſadours, and gaue in anſwere, that he would ſpeedilie ſend his Commiſſioners to Calice, which ſhould fullye commune and conclude with them, both of this and other weightie affayres concerning both the realmes.

Not long after he ſent *Edward* Duke of Yorke, and *Henrie* Earle of Northumberland to Calice: Alſo the French

King ſent the Duke of Burbone and certaine others to Bulleine. Theſe Commiſſioners did often meete, ſometimes at one place, and ſometimes at another: the Frenchmen eſpecially required, that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be reſtored, ſhewing that King *Charles* her Father had giuen in charge, that this before all matters, and without this nothing ſhould be concluded. On the other ſide the Engliſhmen deſired that ſhe might be married to *Henrie* Prince of Wales King *Henries* eldeſt Sonne, a man anſwerable to her in equall degree both of bloud and of yeeres: but the French King denyed that he would any more ioyne affinity with the Engliſh nation, whoſe aliance had once ſo vnfortunately ſucceeded: thē they entred into ſpeech of a perpetuall peace, but heereto the Frenchmen would not agree. In the end it was concluded that Lady *Iſabell* ſhould be deliuered to King *Charles* her Father but without Dower; becauſe the marriage betweene King *Richard* and her, was neuer conſummate: by reaſon wherof ſhe was not donable by the very treaty of the marriage. Alſo the ſurceaſe of armes which foure yeeres before had beene made with King *Richard* for the terme of 30 yeeres, was continued and confirmed for the time then vnexpired. Some authors affirme that a newe truce was taken, but theſe alſo are at difference: for ſome report that it was during the life of both the Kinges, others that it was but for a ſhort time, which hath the more apparaunce of truth, by reaſon of the open hoſtilitye which the yeere following did breake foorth betweene the two realmes.

Shortly after King *Henrie* ſent the Lady *Iſabell* vnder the conducte of Lorde *Thomas Piercy* Earle of Worceſter, in royall eſtate to Calice: ſhe was accompanied with a great troupe of honourable perſonages, both men and women; and carried with her all the Iewelles and Plate which ſhee brought into England, with a great ſurple-ſage of rich gifts beſtowed

beſtowed vpon her by the king: at Calice ſhe was receiued by the Earle of S. Paule, Lieutenant for the French King in Picardy, and by him was conducted to King *Charles* her Father, who afterwardes gaue her in marriage to *Charles* ſonne to *Lewes* Duke of Orleance: and ſo was eyther reſt or reſpite of wars procured in Fraunce, whileſt neerer ſtirres might be brought to ſome ſtay.

For within the realme, the fire and fury of the late ſedition was ſcarcely quenched and quiet, but (that the common wealth ſhould not ceaſe to be torne, by multiplying of diuiſions, one ſtreight ſucceeding another) the Welſhmen, vpon aduantage of the doubtfull and vnſetled eſtate of king *Henry*, reſolued to breake and make a defection; before eyther the King could ground his authority, or the people frame themſelues to a new obedience: and hauing learned that common cauſes muſt be maintained by concord, they ſought by aſſemblyes to eſtabliſh an aſſociation: and to ſet vp theyr owne principality againe.

To this purpoſe they created for their Prince, *Owen Glendor* an Eſquire of Wales, a factious perſon, and apt to ſet vp diuiſion and ſtrife: and although hee was of no great ſtate in birth; yet was hee great and ſtately in ſtomacke: of an aſpiring ſpirit: and in wit ſomewhat aboue the ordinarie of that vntrained people: boulde, craftie, actiue, and as he liſted to bend his minde, miſchieuous or induſtrious in equall degree, in deſires immmoderate, and raſhlye aduenturous, in his young yeares hee was brought vp to the ſtudye of the Common Lawe of the Realme, at London: and when hee came to mans eſtate, beſides a naturall fierceneſſe and hatred to the Engliſh name, hee was particularlye incenſed by a priuate ſuite, for certaine Landes in controuerſie, betweene the Lord Gray of Ruthen and him; wherein his tytle was ouerthrowne; and being a man by nature not of the myldeſt

by this prouocation he was made ſauadge and rough; determining eyther to repayre or to reuenge his loſſe, by ſetting the whole ſtate on fire. Alſo his expence and liberality had bin too exceſſiue for a great man to endure, which brought him to bareneſſe too baſe for a meane man to beare: and therefore he muſt of neceſſity doe and dare ſomewhat, and more danger there was in ſoft and quiet dealing, then in hazarding raſhlie. Heerewith opportunity was then likewiſe preſented: for troubleſome times are moſt fit for great attempts, and ſome likelyhood there was, whileſt the King and the Lordes were hard at variance, that harme might eaſily be wrought to them both. Vpon theſe cauſes his deſire was founded, and upon theſe troubles his hope. But that his aſpiring and ambitious humour might beare ſome ſhew of honeſt meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recouery of their free eſtate, the deſire whereof was ſo naturally ſweete, that euen wilde Birdes will rather liue hardlye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a Cage; and opportunitie was at that time fitly offered, or elſe neuer to be expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falſelie and colourably intituled a peace, whileſt the one Kings power was waining, and the other not yet fullye wexen, and either of them grew weake by waſting the other: neither was their any difference which of them ſhould prevaile, ſithe the warre touched both alike, inſomuch as the ouerthrow would ruine the one, and the victory the other; So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes: and firſt to kill all the Engliſh within their territories, for libertie and Lordes could not endure together: then to reſume their auncient cuſtomes and lawes, whereby more then armes, common-wealths are eſtabliſhed and enlarged: ſo ſhould they bee a people vncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners of bloud; and ſo ſhould they forget ſeruitude, and eyther liue at libertie, or elſe perhaps, bee Lordes

ouer

ouer other.

Heereupon many flocked vnto him, the beſt for loue of liberty, the baſeſt for deſire of bootie and ſpoyle, inſomuch as in ſhort time hee became commaunder of competent forces to ſtand openly in the fielde. And being deſirous to make ſome proofe of his proweſſe, he ſharply ſet vppon his ould aduerſarie *Reignold* Lord Grey of Ruthen, whoſe poſſeſſions he waſted and ſpoyled; ſlew many of his men, and tooke himſelfe priſoner; yet gaue him faire and friendly intertainment, and promiſed him releaſment, if he would take his daughter to wife. This hee deſired, not ſo much for need of his abilitie or ayde, as ſuppoſing that the name and countenance of a Lorde, would giue reputation to the houſe that was then but in riſing: but the Lord Greye at the firſt did not ſo much refuſe as ſcorne the offer: affirming that he was no warde, to haue his marriage obtruded vppon him. Well (ſayde *Owen Glendore*) although you bee not my warde, yet are you in my warde: and the ſuing your liuerie will coſt double the marriage money that elſewhere you ſhall procure. The Lorde Grey being not very riche to diſcharge his ranſome, and ſeeing no other meanes of his deliverance, at the laſt accepted the condition, and tooke the damoſell to wife; notwithſtanding his deceitfull Father in law trifled out the time of his inlargement vntill hee dyed.

The Welſhmen being confident vppon this ſucceſſe, beganne to breake into the borders of Hereford-ſhire, and to make ſpoyle and prey of the Countrey: againſt whom Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of Marche, who for feare of King *Henrie* had withdrawne himſelfe (as hath been declared) to Wiggmore Caſtle, aſſembled all the Gentlemen of the Countrye, and meeting with the Welchmen, they ioyned together a ſharpe and cruell conflict: not in forme of a looſe skirmiſh, but ſtanding ſtill and maintaining their place, they

endeuoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and reſolution of both ſides was alike, but the Welſhmen were ſuperiour both for number and direction: for they were conducted by one knowne leader, who with his preſence euery where aſſiſted at need, enflaming his Souldiers, ſome with ſhame and reproofe, others with praiſe and encouragement, all with hope and large promiſes: but the Engliſhmen had no certaine generall, but many confuſed commaunders, yea euery man was a commaunder to himſelfe, preſſing forward or drawing backe, as his owne courage or feare did mooue him. Inſomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by their ill gouerned bouldneſſe, had not *Owen Glendor* preſently vppon the breaking vp of the field, ceaſed to purſue the execution, and ſhewed himſelfe more able to get a victory, then skilful to vſe it. But euen to his ſide the victorie had coſt blond, and many of thoſe which remayned, were either wounded or wearie: the night was neere alſo, and they were in their enemies countrie; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne away, no man being hoat to follow the chaſe. They loſt of their company about a thouſand men, who ſould their liues at ſuch a price, that when manhood had doone the hardeſt againſt them, certaine manniſh, or rather deuiliſh women, whoſe malice is immortall, exerciſed a vaine reuenge vppon their dead bodies; in cutting off their priuie partes and their noſes, whereof the one they ſtuffed in their mouthes, and preſſed the other betweene their buttockes; and would not ſuffer their mangled carcaſſes to be committed to the earth, vntill they were redeemed with a great ſumme of money. By which cruell couetouſneſſe, the faction loſt reputation and credite with the moderate ſorte of their owne people; ſuſpecting that it was not liberty but licentiouſneſſe which was deſired: and that ſubiection to ſuch vnhumaine

mindes would bee more insupportable then anye bondage.

In this conflict the Earle of Marche was taken prisoner and fettered with chaines, and cast into a deepe and vile dungeon. The King was solicited by many noble men, to vse some meanes for his deliuerance; but hee would not heare on that eare; hee could rather haue wished him and his two sisters in heauen, for then the onely blemish to his title had beene out of the way: and no man can tell whether this mischaunce did not preserue him from a greater mischiefe.

Owen Glendore by the prosperous successe of his actions, was growne now more hard to be dealt with, and hautelie minded, and stood euen vpon termes of equalitie with the King: whereupon he proceeded further to inuade the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne; where he burnt many villages and townes, slew much people, and returned with great prey, and praises of his adherents. Thus he ceased not this yeere to infest the borderers on euery side, amongst whom he found so weak resistance, that he seemed to exercise rather a spoyle then a warre. For King *Henrie* was then detained with his chiefest forces, in another more dangerous seruice, which besides these former vexations and hazards, this first yeere of his raigne happened vnto him.

For the Scottes knowing that changes were times most apte for attempt, and vppon aduantage of the absence of all the chiefe English borderers, partly by occasion of the Parlament, and partlie by reason of the plague which was very grieuous that yeere in the North partes of the realme: they made a roade into the Country of Northumberland, and there committed great hauocke and harme. Also on a certaine night they sodainly set vpon the Castle of Werke, the captain whereof sir *Thomas Gray*, was then one of the knights of the Parlament: & hauing slaine the watch partly a sleepe,

partly

partly amazed with feare, they brake in and ſurpriſed the place: which they held a while, and at the laſt ſpoyled and ruined and then departed. Whileſt further harmes were feared, this paſſed with light regarde. But when great perils were paſt, as if no worſe misfortune could haue befallen, then was it much ſorrowed and lamented. And in reuenge thereof the Engliſhmen inuaded and ſpoyled certaine Ilands of Orkney: and ſo the loſſe was in ſome ſorte repayred: yet (as in the repriſals of warre it commonly falleth out) neyther againſt thoſe particular perſons which committed the harme, nor for thoſe which ſuffred it: but one for another were both recompenced and reuenged. Againe the Scottes ſet forth a fleete, vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*, with direction to attempt as occaſion ſhould be offered: his firſt purpoſe was againſt our Fiſhermen, but before hee came to any action, he was incountred by certaine Engliſh ſhips, and the greateſt part of his fleete taken. Thus peace ſtill continuing betweene both the realmes, a kinde of theeuiſh hoſtilitie was dayly practiſed, which afterwardes brake out into open warre vppon this occaſion.

George of Dunbarre Earle of the Marches of Scotland, had betrothed *Elizabeth* his daughter to *Dauid*, the ſonne and heyre apparent of *Robert* King of Scottes, and in regard of that marriage to bee ſhortly celebrated and finiſhed, hee deliuered into the Kings hands a great ſumme of money for his daughters dowrie. But *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe diſdaining that the Earle of Marches bloud ſhould be preferred before his ſo wrought with King *Robert*, that Prince *Dauid* his ſonne refuſed the Earle of Marches Daughter, and tooke to wife *Mariell* Daughter to the Earle Dowglaſſe: Earle *George* not vſed to offers of diſgrace, could hardlye enforce his patience to endure this ſcorne: and firſt he demaunded reſtitution of his money,

not

not ſo much for care to obtaine, as for deſire to picke an occaſion of breaking his alleageance. The King would make to him neither payment nor promiſe, but trifled him off with many deluſorie and vaine delayes: Whereupon hee fled with all his family into England, to *Henry* Earle of Northumberland, intending with open diſloyaltie both to revenge his indignitie, and recover his loſſe. The Engliſhmen with open armes entertained the opportunitie; with whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance, the Earle made divers incurſions into Scotland, where he burnt many Townes, and ſlew much people, and daily purchaſed with his ſword, great aboundance of booty and ſpoyle.

Hereupon King *Robert* deprived the Earle of his honour, ſeized all his goods and poſſeſſions, and wrote unto King *Henry*, as hee would have the truce betweene them any longer to continue; either to deliver unto him the Earle of Marche and other traytours to his perſon and ſtate, or elſe to baniſh them the Realme of England. King *Henry* perceiving ſuch iarres to iogger between the two realmes, that the peace was already as it were out of ioynt, determined not to loſe the benefit of the diſcontented Subjects of his enemy: whereupon he returned an anſwer to the Heralde of Scotland, that he was neither weary of Peace, nor fearefull of Warres, and ready as occaſion ſhould change, either to hold the one, or hazzard the other: but the word of a Prince was of great weight; and therefore ſith he had graunted a ſafe conduct to the Earle of Marche and his company, it were an impeachment to his honour, without iuſt cauſe to violate the ſame. Vpon this anſwere the King of Scottes did preſently proclaime open warre againſt the King of England, with bloud, fire, and ſword.

King *Henry* thought it policie, rather to begin the warre in his enemies country, then to expect it in their owne, becauſe the Land which is the ſeate of the warre, doth com-

monly furniſh both ſides with neceſſary ſupply; the friend by contribution, and the enimie by ſpoyle. Therefore ſending certaine troopes of horſemen before him, both to eſpy and to induce an vncertaine terrour vppon the enemie, hee entred into Scotland with a puiſſant armie; wherewith hee burnt many Villages and Townes, caſt downe diuerſe Caſtles, and ruined a great part of the townes of Edenborough and Lith, ſparing nothing but Churches and religious houſes: ſo that in all places as he paſſed, the ſpectacle was ougly and griſly which he left behind him; bodyes torne in pieces, mangled and putrified limmes, the ayre infected with ſtincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrie waſted, the Graſſe and corne troden downe and ſpoyled; inſomuch as a man would haue ſayde that warre is an exerciſe not of manhood, but of inhumanitie. They that fledde before the armie, filled all places with feare and terrour, extolling aboue trueth the Engliſh forces, to diminiſh thereby their ſhame in running from ſhame.

In the end of September the King beſieged the Caſtle of Maydens in Edenborough; wherein were *Dauid* Duke of Rothſaye Prince of the realme, and *Archibalde* Earle Dowglaſſe; the inconſtancie of the one, and ambition of the other, were principall cauſes of all this warre.

During this ſiege, *Robert* Duke of Albonye, who was appointed gouernour of the Realme, becauſe the King was ſicke and vnable to rule, ſent an Herauld vnto *Henrie*; aſſuring him vpon his honour that if hee would abyde but ſixe dayes at the moſt, hee would giue him battaile; and eyther remoeue the ſiege, or looſe his life.

The King was well pleaſed with theſe tidings, and rewarded the Herauld with a gowne of ſilke and a chaine of gould, and promiſed him in the worde of a Prince, to abide there

there and expect the gonernour, during the time by him prefixed.

The ſixe dayes paſſed almoſt ſixe times ouer, and no more newes was heard of the Gouernour, eyther by preſence, or by meſſenger. Winter came on, and victuaile fayled, the Country was could and fruitleſſe, and it rayned euery day in great abundance; ſo that partly by hunger, partly by diſtemperature of the weather, the Souldiers began to dye of the Flixe; it is very like that theſe accidentes ſtayed the Gouernour from performing his promiſe, for pollicy was againſt it, to hazzard his men in the fielde, when winter and want, two forceable foes had giuen the charge vppon his enemies: certaine it is, that they mooued the King to remooue his ſiege, and to depart out of Scotland, without any battaile or skirmiſh offred.

Both the Wardens of the Marches were all this time in Scotland with the King: vpon which aduantage the Scots did breake into Northumberland, and burnt certaine towns in Bamborough ſhire. The Engliſh men were ſpeedilie vp in armes; but the Scottes more ſpeedily made theyr returne, or elſe no doubt they had been met with and encountered.

Agayne when King *Henry* had diſcharged his armie, the Scottes being deſirous not ſo much of lyfe as of reuenge, made a ſudaine roade into England, vnder the conduct of Sir *Thomas Halibarton* of Dirleton, and Sir *Patricke Hebburne*, of Hales: but all the harme which they wrought dyd rather waken then weaken the Engliſhmen: and they themſelues were ſomewhat encouraged, but nothing enryched, by that which they got.

Not long after, Sir *Patricke Hebburne*, beeing lifted vp in deſire and hope, reſolued to vndertake a greater

enterprize: the people, which are easily ledde by prosperous successe in great companies resorted to him; but hee was loath to have more fellowes in the spoyle, then hee thought should need in the danger: therefore with a competent armie of the men of Loughdeane, he invaded Northumberland, where he made great spoyle, and loaded his Souldiers with prisoners and pray. There was no question made what perill might be in the returne: Therefore they marched loosely and licentiously, as in a place of great security, not keeping themselves to their ensignes and order: but the Earle of Northumberlands Vice-warden, and other Gentlemen of the borders in good array, set upon them at a towne in Northumberland called Nesbitt. The Scottes rallied as well as the suddainnesse did serve, and valiantly receiued the charge; so that the battaile was sharp and cruell, and continued a good time, with great mortality. In the end the enemies rankes grew thinne, as being rather confusedly shuffled together, then orderly and firmely compacted: and when the Vice-warden felt them weake in the shock, and yeelding under his hand, with a company which he purposely retained about him for suddain dispatches and chances of warre, he fiercely charged and disodered them. Sir *Patricke Hebburne* being cleane destitute both of counsaile and courage ranne up and downe from one place to another, commanding many things, and presently forbidding them againe; and the lesse of force his directions were, the oftner did he change them: anon (as it happeneth in lost and desperate cases) every man became a commander, and none a putter in execution: so the rankes loosed and brake, and could not be reunited, the victour hoatly pursuing the advantage. Then might you have seene a grieuous spectacle, pursuing, killing, wounding, & taking, and killing those that were taken, when better were sped: every where weapons, and dead bodies, and mangled limbs

lay

lay ſcattered: and ſometimes in thoſe that were ſlaine, appeared at their death both Anger and Valour. Sir *Patricke Hebburne* thought of nothing leſſe then either fleeing or yeelding, but thruſting among the thickeſt of his enemies, honourably ended his life. Many other of his lineage, and the flower of all Loughdeane were likewiſe ſlaine. There were alſo taken, Sir *Iohn* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *William Baſſe*, *Iohn* and *Thomas Hablinſton* Eſquires, and a great multitude of common Souldiers. On the Engliſh ſide no great number was ſlaine; and thoſe of no great ſervice and degree. And with theſe troubles the firſt yeere of King *Henry* the fourth ended.

FINIS.

LONDON,
Printed by *John VVolfe*, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes head alley, neere the Exchange.
1599.